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**A Reference Grammar of Bena**

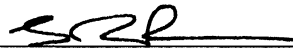
by

**Michelle Elizabeth Morrison**

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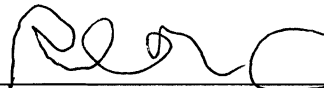
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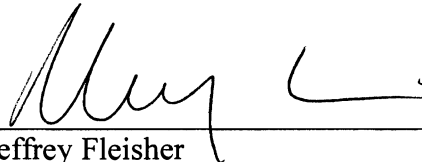
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# **Abstract**

A Reference Grammar of Bena

by

Michelle Elizabeth Morrison

This dissertation is a grammar of Bena (ISO bez), a Bantu language spoken in southwestern Tanzania by approximately 600,000 people. Bena is largely undocumented, and though aspects of Bena grammar have been described, there is no usable, detailed treatment of the Bena language. Therefore the goal of this dissertation is provide the first detailed description of Bena that discusses phonology, morphology, and syntax. The analysis described in this grammar is based on data collected in the Njombe district of Tanzania during 2008 and 2009. Data throughout the grammar is taken from both elicitation and a corpus of 23 narratives.

Though Bena is spoken by over half a million people, it is threatened by Swahili (the national language of Tanzania). Swahili's prominence in Tanzania has increased drastically since independence in 1961, and many (if not most) of the approximately 120 languages spoken in Tanzania are threatened by Swahili. Bena is no exception to this. The results of a sociolinguistic survey conducted in 2009 indicate that Swahili is having a significant impact on the Bena language. Therefore the writing of this dissertation comes at a crucial time. It provides a record of Bena at a time before too many features of the language are lost due to language contact.

The first chapter provides an introduction to the Bena language and people. It also discusses results from the 2009 sociolinguistic survey which had the goal of clarifying questions on both the dialectal situation and the sociolinguistic vitality of Bena. The second chapter is devoted to phonetics and phonology. Of particular interest in this chapter are Bena's "predictable" tone system and the morphophonological process of imbrication (a type of coalescence in which multiple morphemes are interwoven together). The third chapter gives an overview of Bena word classes and provides a road map of the next several chapters of the grammar. Fourth is a description of Bena nominal morphology and other elements in the noun phrase. Like other Bantu languages, Bena uses a complex noun class system; Bena's 19 noun classes and the ways in which they are used are discussed in detail in this chapter.

Following this is a description of Bena verbal morphology. Of particular interest in Bena is its tense aspect system—Bena distinguishes four separate past tenses and three distinct futures; these interact with five aspects. The second major focus of Chapter 5 is the use of a series of suffixes in verbal derivation. The sixth chapter of the grammar describes adverbs and other invariable words in Bena. Chapter 7 describes major aspects of Bena syntax. Because Bantu languages have rich morphological systems, most grammars of Bantu languages either give a fairly cursory treatment of syntax or they ignore it completely. This dissertation aims to fill that gap by providing a description of a Bantu language that is more balanced and acknowledges the significant roles played by both morphology and syntax. The final chapter highlights several features of Bena from a typological perspective and discusses areas in which further research on Bena has the potential to contribute significantly to Bantu linguistics.

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## Preface

Examples throughout this grammar come from two primary sources: elicitation and the corpus. Where possible I tried to use examples from the corpus; however in some cases either an example of a particular feature did not exist in the corpus, or an elicited example was easier to use to illustrate a particular point. When this happened examples were pulled from elicitation. Examples pulled from the corpus are labeled with the recording number, recording title, and example line. Recording numbers begin with the year of the recording, followed by the month and day. Letters are then used to sequence recordings taken on a single day. Thus, for example, if an example is tagged with the label *08Oct06h, Times of Planting, line 006*, the reader knows that this example is taken from the sixth line of a narrative entitled *Times of Planting* which was the eighth recording on October 06, 2008. There are a few folktales which were told by different speakers on different occasions. In order to distinguish these from one another, a version number is included in the recording title. Thus *08Sept01b, The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 1* refers to a rendition of this folktale told by Eneas Ngilangwa on September 1, 2008 and *08Oct09f, The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3* refers to Petro Mkevela's telling of the story on October 09, 2008.

Bena data is given in italics with English glosses between single quotes. Most of the Bena data is given using orthographical transcription (for further discussion of these see 2.5); where phonetic transcriptions are necessary, these are given between square brackets. Bolding is used to draw the reader's attention to the relevant portion of an example, and underlining is used to indicate a borrowing from Swahili. Prefixes are followed by a hyphen; suffixes are preceded by a hyphen. Following the Bantuist

tradition, stems of adjectives, quantifiers, possessives, and interrogatives which cannot stand independently (without a prefix) are preceded by a hyphen (for example, *-olofu* 'many'). Also following the Bantuist tradition, when it is necessary to refer to a verbal root, this is done using hyphens both preceding and following the root (for example *-dzeng-* 'build'). Other glossing conventions are summarized below:

1PL	first person plural	NARR	narrative
1SG	first person singular	NEG	negative
2PL	second person plural	NMLZ	nominalizer
2SG	second person singular	OBJ	object
3PL	third person plural	OM	object marker
3SG	third person singular	P <sub>1</sub>	immediate past
APPL	applicative	P <sub>2</sub>	hodiernal past
ASSOC	associative	P <sub>3</sub>	recent past
AUG	augment	P <sub>4</sub>	remote past
AUX	auxiliary	PASS	passive
CAUS	causative	POS	positional
CL1-20	noun class prefix	POSS	possessor
COP	copula	PRES	present
DEM	demonstrative	PRO	pronoun
DIST	distal	PROG	progressive
E	epenthetic morpheme	PROX	proximal
EMPH	emphatic	RECIP	reciprocal
EXIST	existential	REDUP	reduplicant
EXT	extensive	REFL	reflexive
F <sub>1</sub>	immediate future	REL	relativizer
F <sub>2</sub>	near future	REP	repetitive
F <sub>3</sub>	remote future	SEP	separative
FFV	final vowel	SM	subject marker
IMPOS	impositive	STAT	stative
INTENS	intensive	TA	tense-aspect
INTR	intransitive	TENT	tentive
IPFV	imperfective	TR	transitive
MED	medial	V	verb
N	noun	VOC	vocative

## **Chapter 1**

### **Introduction**

This study is a description of Bena<sup>1</sup> (ISO bez), a Bantu language spoken in southwestern Tanzania by approximately 600,000 people (Muzale and Rugemalira 2008). Bena is largely undocumented and there is no usable, detailed treatment of the language. Therefore the goal of this dissertation is provide the first detailed description of Bena that discusses phonology, morphology, and syntax. The analysis described in this grammar is based on data collected in the Njombe district of Tanzania during 2008 and 2009.

The first chapter of the grammar gives a review of previous studies of the Bena language, the scope of the current project, its methodology and theoretical orientation, and sociolinguistic details about the Bena language. The second chapter is devoted to phonetics and phonology. The third chapter gives an overview of Bena word classes and the criteria which are used to distinguish each word class. Fourth is an analysis of nominal morphology and the noun phrase. The fifth chapter describes verbal morphology. Following this is a description of adverbs and other uninflecting words. The seventh chapter is an analysis of Bena syntax. The final chapter highlights typological properties of the Bena language and the degree to which features of the Bena language are typical of Bantu languages. Two Bena texts are included as appendices at the end of the dissertation.

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<sup>1</sup> Bena is also known as Kibena or Hibena. Here and throughout this grammar Bena and other Bantu languages will be referred to without noun class prefixes.



### 1.1 The Bena people

Bena is spoken by approximately 600,000 people living in southwestern Tanzania, northeast of Lake Nyasa (Muzale and Rugemalira 2008). The Bena speaking population is concentrated in the Njombe district of the Iringa region of Tanzania. In 2002, according to the Tanzanian Population and Housing Census, the population of the Njombe district was approximately 420,000 (United Republic of Tanzania 2002). In the center of the Njombe district is the city of Njombe (population 42,000 in 2002). Njombe town is populated by a mixture of tribes. The rural areas of the Njombe district are primarily Bena speaking.



Figure 1.1 Map of Tanzania ([www.mapsofworld.com](http://www.mapsofworld.com))

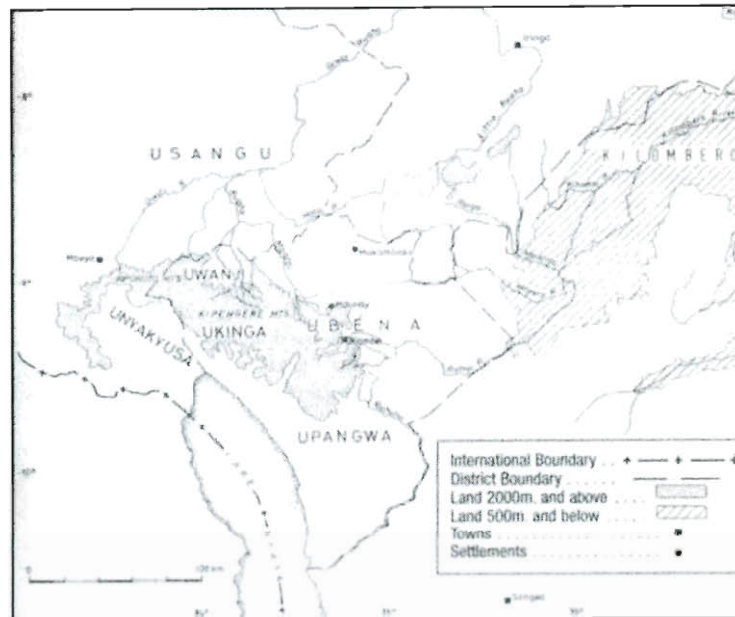


Figure 1.2 Map of Njombe and the surrounding areas (Giblin 2005:15)

Culwick (1935) divides Ubena (the area where Bena is spoken) into two major geographic areas. The majority of Bena speakers live in the southern highlands of Tanzania and Culwick refers to this area as “Ubena of the Hills.” A much smaller group (estimated by Culwick to be 16,000 people in 1935) has moved to the Ulanga Valley—this area is referred to as “Ubena of the Rivers.” This dissertation focuses on the Bena who live in the southern highlands. The majority of the Bena are agriculturists, farming potatoes, corn, wheat, and sunflowers. One of the larger businesses in the area, Kibena Tea Ltd., is a tea plantation and factory.

## 1.2 The Bena language

Bena is a member of the Bantu language family (a subgroup of the Niger-Congo language phylum). Approximately 240 million people speak one or more Bantu languages—about one in three Africans (Nurse and Philippson 2003:1). Estimates of the total number of Bantu languages vary widely as a result of differing definitions of the difference between a language and a dialect and of what exactly constitutes a Bantu language. Nurse and Philippson (2003) estimate that there are approximately 300 Bantu languages spoken in Africa; the current version of the Ethnologue lists 513 Bantu languages, 103 of which are spoken in Tanzania (Gordon 2005).

Guthrie's (1971) classification labels Bena as G63. Bena's closest relatives (according to Guthrie's classification) include Sangu (G61, 75,000 speakers), Hehe (G62, 750,000 speakers), Pangwa (G64, 95,000 speakers), Kinga (G65, 140,000 speakers), Wanji (G66, 28,000 speakers), and Kisi (G67, 10,200 speakers) (Gordon 2005). Nurse et al (1979) and Nurse (1988) confirm the internal consistency of G60 and label this group the "Southern Highland" languages. The following map shows where each of these languages is spoken (Wanji is indicated by numeral 8):

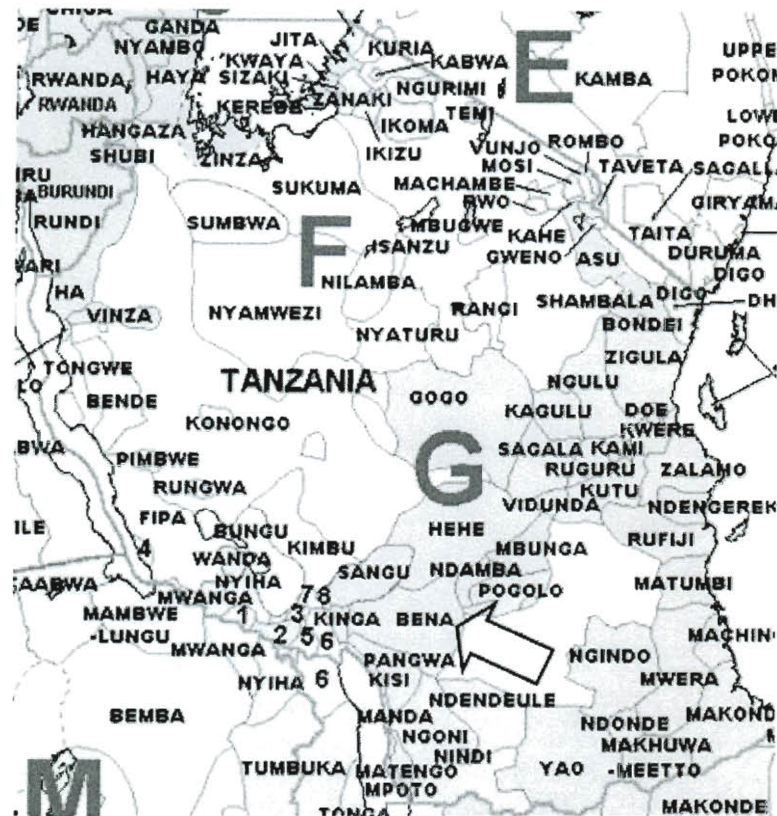


Figure 1.3 Languages spoken in Tanzania (Nurse and Tucker 2001)

Current estimates indicate that approximately 1.8 million people speak one of the Southern Highlands languages as a first language (Gordon 2005). There has been very little research conducted on this group of languages: Schadeburg (1971) is a dissertation on Kinga; Schadeburg (1973) is an analysis of Kinga's tone system. Stirnimann (1983) is a study of Pangwa. Odden and Odden (1985, 1999) provide research on syllable structure and reduplication in Hehe. Walsh (2004) is a discussion of prefix-stacking in animal

names in Hehe. Research on Bena is fragmentary, as will be discussed in the following section.

### 1.3 Previous research

Existing research on Bena is sparse, fragmentary, and difficult to obtain. Bena first occurs in the literature in Last (1885), a list of about 250 words in 48 African languages. Maho and Sands (2002) list a number of sources with uncertain authorship and/or existence<sup>2</sup>: [Anonymous?] (1913), Küsters (193?), Oelke (193?), and Semsdorf (1???). During a recent trip to Tanzania I acquired a photocopy of an old English-Bena dictionary manuscript, typed on notebook paper. It includes a few grammatical notes on Bena but no information about who compiled it or when it was written; I suspect that it may correspond to Küsters (193?). It contains approximately 1000 lexical items with their English and Bena equivalents. It also contains a number of verbal paradigms labeled as follows: past, present, present perfect, present continuous, consecutive, future I, future II, and conditional.

There are several anthropological and ethnographic works that describe the Bena people. Culwick (1935) is a book-length anthropological treatment describing the history of the Bena people and their rulers (with one chapter written by a Bena chief, Mtema Towegale Kiwanga). Culwick's work also includes ethnographic observations he made during his time as an administrative officer working in Tanzania. He discusses family life, initiation ceremonies, economics, and other aspects of Bena life. Mumford (1934) is

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<sup>2</sup> I have cited these sources exactly following Maho and Sands (2002).

an ethnographic study of the “greater cultural group” of the Hehe, Sangu, and Bena peoples, suggesting that the boundaries between these groups are not distinct (linguistically, Hehe and Sangu are also two of Bena’s closest neighbors). Instead they share much of their history and cultural practices. Mumford gives an overview of kinship and family structure, political organization, customs, rituals, and religious beliefs. Mwenda (1963) also gives an overview of Bena history.

More recently, Giblin (2005) collected a series of oral histories from residents of Njombe between 1992 and 2002, which he uses to present an account of the history of the town of Njombe and the experiences of its inhabitants throughout the political upheaval of the twentieth century. He begins with colonial German rule and moves through the Maji Maji rebellion (an uprising against German authority in Tanganyika<sup>3</sup>), the British take-over of Tanganyika after World War I, the declaration of independence by Tanganyika in 1961, and the period of *Ujamaa* (‘familyhood’, a form of African socialism) that Tanzania underwent from independence until the mid 1980s. Giblin’s primary thesis is that as the residents of Njombe began to feel increasingly marginalized by the state, they began to turn to the family, local connections, and what Giblin refers to as “rural subalterns” to seek refuge from the state. In fact, Giblin claims that it is the animosity of the Tanzanian government against the private sphere that contributed largely to the downfall of *Ujamaa* in Tanzanian society.

Priebsch (1935) is the first detailed treatment of the Bena language. He treats Bena and Hehe as a single language (the title of his study is *Bena-Hehe Grammatik*). It

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<sup>3</sup> In 1964 the country of Tanganyika merged with the nearby islands of Zanzibar; this merger resulted in the creation of present-day Tanzania

appears that his grammar is based upon the speech of individuals living along the border between the Bena and Hehe speaking areas. Priebusch devotes portions of his grammar to vowels, consonants, noun classes, adjectives, pronouns, verbal morphology, and (some) syntax. His grammar contains numerous examples of each feature that he is describing, but does not go into much detail in each area. Further, Priebusch does not discuss vowel length or tone, both important processes in Bena. Like some other treatments of the Bena language, Priebusch's grammar is fairly difficult to obtain—copies exist at Leiden University and at the University of Dar es Salaam.

Chaula (1989) wrote his Master's thesis on Bena phonology. He describes the Mavemba dialect (he is a native speaker). He discusses Bena phonetics and various phonological and morphophonemic processes including vowel lengthening, vowel deletion, glide formation, vowel harmony, spirantization, affrication, palatalization, and several different types of consonant deletion. His analysis is rich with examples. Unfortunately he does not address tone in his study of Bena phonology. His thesis is also difficult to obtain, as the only available copy is at the University of Dar es Salaam. Other works briefly treat the Bena language without going into much detail: Schumann (1917) is a description of the Bena tonal system. Greenway (1947) is a compilation of word lists from 41 different languages spoken in Tanzania, including Bena, Hehe, and Kinga. Most of the words in his list refer to body parts and various diseases. Nurse (1988) relies largely on lexicostatistics to confirm Guthrie's (1971) groupings of the G60 languages. Nurse labels this group the "Southern Highlands" languages. Features which Nurse describes as defining Southern Highland languages include the retention of the

Class 5 marker *li-* (other groups have reduced this marker to *-i*), traces of Dahl's Law (in a series of two voiceless obstruents the first is voiced), the deletion of nasals preceding voiceless stops, and the devoicing of sibilants. In the same volume Park (1988) makes some observations about the "regional culture" of the Southern Highlands peoples, confirming Mumford's (1934) claims that these groups share much of their culture and history, though this does not pertain to linguistic classification.

Swartz (1968) analyzes the kin terminology that Bena speakers use. In addition to listing Bena and Swahili kinship terms and describing the way in which these terms are used, Swartz attempts to offer an explanation for why particular Bena terms may be used in one situation and Swahili terms in another—his explanation involves the reciprocity of terms (i.e., a grandparent and a grandchild may use the same terms to refer to one another). Swartz claims that terms that are reciprocal are used only in situations when the expectations of both parties are approximately equal. Thus Bena speakers do not use *mjombe*, the Swahili term that includes both 'mother's brother' and 'father's sister' because the material/societal expectations on these two people is very different in Bena society. Therefore instead of using the Swahili term *mjombe*, Bena speakers use the appropriate Bena terminology. But because one's mother and one's mother's sisters have approximately the same material/social expectations, a single term is used for both (Swahili and Bena both have only one term for mother's sister and mother, thus Bena speakers use the Swahili and Bena terms equally).<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> A detailed assessment of Swartz's analysis is beyond the scope of this work, however other explanations for the differences between Bena and Swahili kinship terms are possible, namely that the two languages use



Guthrie (1971) includes Bena in his classification of the Bantu languages, though in a work designed to address as many of the Bantu languages as possible, Guthrie goes into little detail about Bena. Nurse and Philippson (1975) compiled a list of 1,000 Bena words as part of their larger Tanzania Language Survey; while their word list is useful, words are unmarked for tone and length, both important processes in Bena. Hodges and Stucky (1979) treat passive constructions in Bena and give a fairly in-depth analysis of which arguments can be passivized (direct objects, locatives, beneficiaries, and recipients all may be passivized) and the ways in which these passive constructions behave. The data they present, however, is limited, and their research is based on interaction with a single Bena speaker.

One of the more detailed treatments of Bena grammar is Nurse (1979), a brief (only twelve pages in length) grammatical sketch. Nurse lists six dialects (Lupembe, Masakati (also known as Namanga), Masitu, Maswamu, Sovi, and Matumbi), and his description focuses on the Lupembe dialect. Nurse gives a general overview of Bena phonology: he lists five vowels which may be long or short and gives a consonant inventory. With respect to nominal tone he claims that prefixes always have a high tone and the final vowel is always low. Vowels in between the first and last syllable of a word may vary in tone. Verbal tone is underlyingly either all low or all low with a final high, but tenses have associated tonal patterns that “override the basic tones in some cases” (1979: 109). Nurse also lists nominal concords and makes some general claims regarding the semantics of some noun classes. Finally, Nurse gives examples of the verb *gula* “buy”

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different systems of kinship classification. See Strauss (1969) for further discussion of kinship classification systems.

inflected for first person plural in a number of TAM configurations. Verbal forms are listed as follows: present continuous, present indefinite, future (today), other future, immediate past, past (today), past (yesterday), other past, consecutive, ‘used to...’, past continuous, ‘would...’, ‘would have...’, ‘if/when (future)’, ‘when (past)’, ‘be still...ing’, ‘not yet...’, subjunctive, imperative, relative, and negative.

Eaton (2007) is a sketch of Bena phonology, based on a corpus of 1309 lexical items. She gives an inventory of consonant phonemes and discusses their distribution. With respect to vowels, Eaton describes a number of sources of vowel length: vowels may be underlyingly long or their length may be derived through a number of different processes. These include vowel coalescence, compensatory lengthening (both before pre-nasalized consonants and after labialized and palatalized consonants), the lengthening of word-initial vowels in nouns with monosyllabic stems and vowels in the first syllable of disyllabic verbal imperatives, the lengthening of the penultimate vowel in “certain verb forms”, and vowel lengthening in ideophones. Eaton further discusses syllable structure, possible Bena syllable types, and tone patterns in Bena. Finally, Eaton describes some morphophonological processes, including vowel harmony, vowel elision, glide formation, and the behavior of nasal prefixes.

Muhehwa et al (2005) present a short grammatical sketch of Bena. Data was collected, compiled, and analyzed during two workshops held by SIL Int’l in 2004. A template-based approach was used (process described in Stegen 2005) in which native Bena speakers filled in the blanks of a templatic Bantu grammar based on Rangi (a Bantu language, F33, spoken in Tanzania). Some portions of the Muhehwa et al grammar sketch

still include Rangi data that has not yet been replaced with Bena. Such an approach helps to train native speakers to do linguistic research and provides results in a short period of time, but, since it is ultimately based in a different language, it glosses over many of the intricacies and richness of the Bena language. In spite of its shortcomings, however, Muhehwa et al's treatment of Bena provides invaluable information on noun classes, inflectional and derivational verbal processes, question formation, and word order.

There are four books which have been published in the Bena language. During my recent trips to Tanzania I was able to purchase all three of these: a Bible translation (British & Foreign Bible Society 1914), a hymnal (Dayosisi la Kusini 1914), and a basic language primer (Hongole 2002). A fourth book, entitled *Bena Fibel* (Anonymous 1914), was used in missionary schools during the early portion of the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> My own conversations with Bena speakers have revealed that none of these books is without major flaws. I have been told that the Bible translation sounds foreign (one speaker in particular laughed and told me that no Bena speaker would ever talk like that) and that it is almost impossible for young speakers in particular to read and understand it. The hymnal consists of hymns translated from German or English into Swahili and then into Bena. With regard to the primer, Bena speakers have told me that it is full of errors and difficult to use.

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<sup>5</sup> My copy of *Bena Fibili* does not have any information about who wrote it or when it was published. It simply has *Bena Fibili* handwritten on the front cover. I met a few older speakers who still had copies of it, and from conversations with them I discovered that it was used in missionary schools. Therefore I have assumed it was printed by the missionaries who used it, but I am not sure.

## 1.4 The present study

The present study is a reference grammar of the Bena language. The goal of this dissertation is provide the first detailed description of Bena that discusses phonology, morphology, and syntax. This grammar is aimed at an audience of academic linguists; however a modified Bena orthography (see 2.5) is used throughout in an attempt to make the grammar accessible to interested speakers of the language.

### 1.4.1 Methodology

Research described in this study is based on fieldwork conducted in the Njombe district (Iringa region) of Tanzania during 2008 and 2009. Fieldwork was divided into two trips, each lasting approximately five months. Fieldwork was centered in the town of Njombe at the center of the Bena speaking area. Living in Njombe gave me easy access to speakers both in Njombe and in the surrounding villages. The first fieldtrip in 2008 was spent almost entirely in Njombe (with a few short trips into neighboring villages). The focus of the first trip was lexical and grammatical elicitation and text collection. I usually worked with speakers (one or two at a time) for three hours per day, four days a week. Time with speakers was spent doing a wide variety of data collection techniques—some days were spent translating words and sentences from Swahili into Bena; other days we played games or used toys or pictures to gather specific types of data (in an attempt to avoid influence from Swahili arising from direct translation); speakers also helped me translate recordings which now compose the corpus.

These tasks were continued in the 2009 trip. Also during the fall of 2009, in cooperation with SIL Int'l, I conducted a sociolinguistic survey in 17 different villages throughout the Bena speaking area. The final component of the 2009 fieldtrip was the checking of data collected in both 2008 and 2009. This involved going through all the data that had been collected with a different speaker than the one who originally contributed the information. Research was conducted primarily in Swahili. Rather than gathering all my data from a single speaker, I worked with a number of different primary consultants in order to gain a richer understanding of the Bena language. My two most frequent consultants (Catherin Mhehwa and Anna Jombe) both speak the Ngaveta dialect; therefore it is this dialect upon which much of this study is based. Other consultants who contributed a significant amount of material to the project include Ang'emelye Mudeka (Maswamu), Elita Mangula (Sovi), Eneas Ngilangwa (Ngaveta), Luhwaho Ngilangwa (Ngaveta), Petro Mkevela (Sovi), and Imara Mgohele (Maswamu). Numerous other consultants participated in one or two sessions.

My database consists of a wide variety of material. I have a lexical database which contains approximately 4,000 lexical items. With the help of Bena speakers I put together a small corpus of different types of Bena narratives. The corpus currently contains 23 narratives which have been transcribed and translated (with the help of consultants) into both Swahili and English. The compilation of the corpus is an ongoing project, and a number of other narratives and conversations are in various stages of preparation to be added to the corpus. Much of the analysis also relies on various elicitation strategies—these included both sentence translation and grammaticality

judgments. I also used a number of different elicitation techniques based on non-verbal stimuli—these included picture and video descriptions, role play, and games using different types of objects. Each piece of data was checked with a different speaker from the original contributor.

All sessions with consultants were recorded with an Edirol R-09 at a sampling rate of 44.1 KHz. Some audio recordings were supplemented with video recordings (these include a few videos of speakers telling stories and a number of performances by Bena choirs). Many of the recordings have been transcribed and time-aligned using Elan,<sup>6</sup> a software utility which uses open formats (XML and WAV) to save data; neither of these formats is proprietary or dependent on Elan, thus ensuring the longevity of data even if Elan ceases to be maintained. My database (dictionary and texts) is maintained using Toolbox,<sup>7</sup> freely downloadable software which was developed by SIL Int'l specifically for the purposes of developing a multi-purpose linguistic database. Toolbox uses tag-delineated text files, another file-type which is non-proprietary and therefore complies with standards laid out by OLAC (Open Languages Archive Community) and Bird and Simons (2003) for the proper archiving of linguistic data. Many of the research materials have been archived with the Endangered Languages Archive hosted by the Hans Rausing Endangered Languages Project at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Contribution and maintenance of archival materials is an ongoing project. Use of the archive will ensure the preservation of the data I collected for future researchers. In addition to this, copies of all materials have been given to the Kukula

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<sup>6</sup> Freely downloadable from <http://www.mpi.nl/tools/>.

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.sil.org/computing/toolbox/>

Group, an informal culture committee whose goal is to preserve and promote Bena language and culture.

#### 1.4.2 Theoretical framework

The purpose of this study is to present a basic descriptive grammar of the Bena language. The theoretical framework used throughout is that of “Basic Linguistic Theory” (see Dixon 2007, Dryer 2006). BLT is commonly used in linguistic descriptions and grammars and draws as much as possible on earlier theoretical traditions (rather than relying heavily on contemporary theory). BLT is not atheoretical; instead it relies heavily on fundamental theoretical notions, such as phonemes, derivation, and transitivity.

### 1.5 Sociolinguistic situation

The Ethnologue lists 127 living languages that are spoken in Tanzania; 103 of these belong to the Bantu family (Gordon 2005). Swahili and English are the national languages of Tanzania, though in some parts of Tanzania very few people speak English. Swahili is the language of commerce and business, and most Tanzanians speak Swahili along with one, two, or more minority languages. With 600,000 speakers, Bena is one of the larger minority languages.<sup>8</sup>

I conducted a sociolinguistic survey in the Bena-speaking language area during the fall of 2009. The survey had two major goals. The first of these was to assess the

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<sup>8</sup> There are 27 languages spoken in Tanzania with a quarter of a million or more speakers. Gordon (2005) indicates that only seven languages have more speakers than Bena. More recently, Muzale and Rugemalira (2008) place Bena at 13 in a ranking of speaker population of Tanzanian languages.

sociolinguistic vitality of the Bena language and to determine the extent to which increasing use of Swahili is affecting Bena. The second goal of the survey was to clarify the dialect situation. Previous sources show considerable discrepancy, both in the number of dialects they list and the names given for each dialect (see 1.5.3).

During September of 2009 (in cooperation with SIL International) I collected data in thirteen different villages in the Njombe district of Tanzania. During October and November, I visited four additional villages. In all, more than 178 speakers participated.<sup>9</sup> They ranged in age from 19 to 100. 75 were female; 103 were male. Data collected in each village included basic speaker demographics, a word list, a phrase list, and sociolinguistic information. The sociolinguistic information which was collected in each village included the answers to questions about dialect areas, Bena history, and sociolinguistic vitality. In addition, 74 people filled out questionnaires about language use and sociolinguistic vitality.

The following subsections discuss sociolinguistic aspects of the Bena language. Though a complete analysis of the survey data is beyond the scope of this work, some results from the survey are presented below. 1.5.2 is about the sociolinguistic vitality of Bena—even though it has a large speaker base, it is significantly threatened by Swahili. Section 1.5.3 gives a picture of the dialect situation and briefly discusses the seven dialects of Bena and where they are spoken.

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<sup>9</sup> 178 speakers participated directly in the survey and filled out consent forms. There were additional people who came while the survey was being conducted and gave opinions about sociolinguistic vitality, but not all of their names were recorded, so it is impossible to tell exactly how many people participated.



### 1.5.1 Minority languages in Tanzania

The status and use of Swahili in Tanzania has increased dramatically over the last forty years. In 1961 Tanganyika declared independence from Great Britain. Under *Ujamaa* (Swahili ‘familyhood’), a form of African socialism, Swahili was promoted as a unifying factor. *Ujamaa* encouraged an elevation of Tanzanian identity over tribal or local identity. Swahili was made one of the official languages of Tanzania (along with English) and the medium of instruction in primary school education. Blommaert (2005:398) notes that “the ideal situation envisaged by the architects of the campaign was monoglot” and that the promotion of Swahili as a national language was intended to target both English and local languages in Tanzania. While local languages continue to enjoy widespread use in Tanzania, Swahili is rapidly encroaching. Mekacha (1993a) notes that Swahili has taken over many of the functions of local languages, and use of local languages is restricted primarily to the home.

The Tanzanian government recognizes the importance of minority languages and their role in the preservation of cultural diversity and history; in fact, Tanzania’s *Sera ya Utamaduni* (‘Culture Law’) explicitly permits and encourages the use and development of minority languages (Stegen 2005). However, the government provides no institutional support for minority languages. Swahili continues to be the medium of education from the very beginning of primary school, and children are taught only in English from secondary school on (Roy-Campbell 2001, Stegen 2005). Numerous studies cite the current educational language policy as one of the primary reasons for language shift in

Tanzania (Legère 1992, 2000, 2007, 2008; Mekacha 1993b; Msanjila 2004; Mkude 2004; Batibo 1992; Brock-Utne and Holmarsdottir 2004).

The promotion of Swahili both during and after Ujamaa has had a significant impact on minority language use in Tanzania. First and foremost, Swahili's status as an official language of Tanzania has increasingly relegated the use of minority languages to the private sphere (Lègere 1992, Mekacha 1993a). With the exception of high court, higher education, and international business (where English is used), Swahili is promoted in all official domains in Tanzania. A survey conducted by Mekacha (1993a) among university students in Dar es Salaam and secondary students in Masoma indicates that, as the language policy dictates, Swahili dominates in all domains except the home. This includes hospitals, religious services and ceremonies, the police and army, all levels of bureaucracy, Parliament, the mass media, etc. Mekacha further argues that Swahili is gradually assuming many of the functions and domains that minority languages had previously dominated.

Related to this issue is the drastic increase in the use of Swahili as an inter-ethnic mode of communication. While Swahili has fulfilled such a role for a long time, particularly in coastal areas and along traditional slavery and trade routes, in the years since independence Swahili function in inter-ethnic communication has drastically increased. In the past, larger regional languages such as Bena, Sukuma, or Hehe served as inter-ethnic lingua francas. More recently, however, Swahili is beginning to take over that role (Legère 1992). Speakers of Pangwa, for example, used Bena in the past to communicate with people from different tribes. Conversations with Bena speakers during

the sociolinguistic survey indicate that this is no longer the case. Bena (as a means of communication between people from different tribes) has been replaced entirely by Swahili.

In school, the use of minority languages is actively discouraged. Although students are no longer beaten for speaking a minority language as they were in the 1950s, Mekacha (1993b) notes that use of a minority language by a child will result in “scornful remarks” from teachers and/or classmates. This observation was corroborated by Bena speakers. Wedin (2005) argues that language policy in schools has contributed to the stigmatization of minority languages (at least in domains outside the home). In spite of this, Wedin’s study shows that Runyambo (the minority language she is studying) continues to be used by teachers to communicate outside of the classroom. Children, however, are forbidden to address their teachers in Runyambo. Tanzania’s policy ensures that children will learn to speak Swahili; no such assurance exists for a minority language. As Mekacha (1993b) notes, if a child speaks a minority language in the home, he or she will develop Swahili proficiency in school. The opposite is not true, however: a child who speaks only Swahili at home will likely never develop more than a passive knowledge of the minority language.

A number of studies document the increasing preference of Tanzanian youths for Swahili. Legère (2007), for example, describes an “ethnically homogenous” area where almost everyone is ethnically Vidunda and most people speak Vidunda as their first language. His study illustrates increased usage of Swahili at the expense of a minority language, particularly after children begin attending school. Some have even argued that

(at least in some areas) the strengthening of Swahili among Tanzania's youth has resulted in a weakening of ethnic affiliation (Mkude 2001).

The huge impact of the promotion of Swahili in Tanzania has affected not only minority language use, but also minority language lexicon and grammar. Legère (2000) has observed a dramatic increase of Swahili loan words even in non-Bantu languages like Barabaig and Iraqw. Particularly prone to borrowing are words that describe new objects and technologies that were previously unknown. Beyond being a source for lexical borrowing, Swahili is beginning to have a structural impact on minority languages in Tanzania. Mkude (2004) is a study of the ways in which Swahili has affected the structure of Luguru, a Bantu language spoken by approximately half a million people. Considerable grammatical leveling is taking place in Luguru: those distinctions which Swahili does not have (augment use, varying realizations of the first person singular pronoun, and use of a negative particle, for example) are beginning to be considered as optional or superfluous by younger speakers. In this way, though Luguru continues in widespread use, its structure is undergoing significant change as a result of the intense contact of its speakers with Swahili. The increasing prominence of Swahili is having a major impact on Bena as well. The next section discusses results of the 2009 sociolinguistic survey that indicate that Bena is significantly threatened by Swahili.

### 1.5.2 The sociolinguistic vitality of Bena

Estimates of Bena speaker population range from 592,370 (Muzale and Rugemalira 2008) to 670,000 (Gordon 2005). It is possible, however, that these numbers

may be over-inflated because of difficulties in defining a Bena language speaker. First, estimates of speaker population make the assumption that a person who is ethnically Bena is also a Bena speaker. This is not necessarily the case, particularly in urban areas where many Bena children grow up speaking very little (if any) Bena. Estimates of speaker population also do not define how fluent a speaker must be in order to be categorized as a Bena speaker. Part of the purpose of the sociolinguistic survey I conducted in 2009 was to assess the sociolinguistic vitality of the Bena language. To this end I designed a questionnaire elicit language attitudes and to determine what kind of impact Swahili is making on Bena. 74 participants (selected opportunistically) filled out the language-use questionnaire.

Participants were presented with thirty-five language use questions. Given a particular situation, they were asked to respond which language(s) they were most likely to use. They were given five options from which to choose; these are summarized in (1)<sup>10</sup>:

- (1)
  - a. Bena only
  - b. More Bena than Swahili
  - c. Equal Bena and Swahili
  - d. More Swahili than Bena
  - e. Swahili only

Responses to several questions of particular interest will be discussed here. (For a tabulation of responses to all survey questions, refer to Appendix C.)

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<sup>10</sup> There are some situations, particularly school, where participants used another language (usually English). However because all participants in the study spoke (and used) both Bena and Swahili, they were asked to examine their use of just those two languages. If a participant gave a response other than Bena or Swahili to any of the questions, that was noted, but those responses are not included here.

One set of questions looked at the parent-child relationship. Responses to these questions are summarized below<sup>11</sup>:

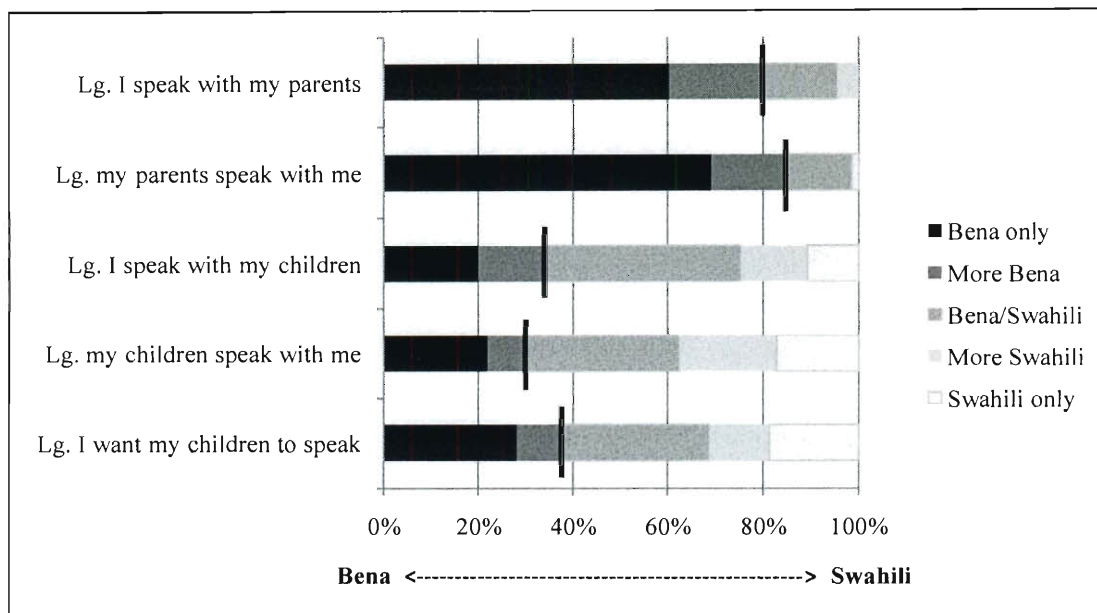
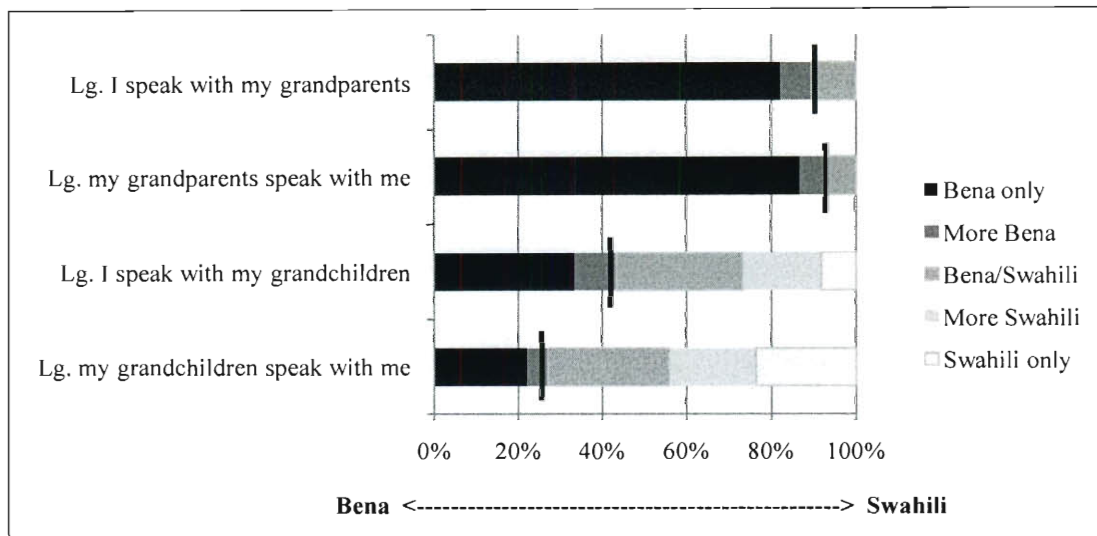


Figure 1.4 Parent-child relationship

The responses summarized in Figure 1.4 show a generational difference between parents and children. Nearly 80% of respondents use Bena only or more Bena than Swahili when speaking with their parents. However when the same group of people is asked which language they use with their children, their answers are drastically different: for only about 30% of respondents does Bena dominate in communication with their children.

The grandparent-grandchild relationship shows an even more drastic shift:

<sup>11</sup> In Figures 1.4 through 1.8 a thick dark line has been superimposed over the chart to aid in clarity of reading. This line demarcates the border between Bena-dominated language use patterns (Bena only or more Bena) and language use patterns where Swahili is equal with Bena or dominates.



**Figure 1.5 Grandparent-grandchild relationship**

As Figure 1.5 shows, Bena dominates when people are speaking with their grandparents—nearly all the respondents use Bena only or mostly Bena when speaking with their grandparents. No respondents reported dominate use of Swahili in conversations with their grandparents. However when it comes to communicating with grandchildren, the responses are drastically different. Only 45% of respondents use Bena or mostly Bena with their grandchildren. Further, less than 30% of respondents reported that their grandchildren used primarily Bena when responding to them. When responding to the questionnaire, several different grandparents described situations where they would use Bena when speaking with their grandchildren, but their grandchildren would respond in Swahili.

There is an additional point illustrated by Figure 1.5 that is worth discussing. Approximately 90% of respondents reported that they speak either all or mostly Bena when talking with their grandparents, yet only 30% of respondents say that their

grandchildren speak all or mostly Bena when speaking with them. Similarly, about 90% of the speakers surveyed reported that their grandparents speak all or mostly Bena when speaking with them, but only slightly more than 40% of respondents said that they speak all or mostly Bena with their grandchildren. It is important to remember that these responses represent perceived (and not necessarily actual) language use. It is possible that these results simply reflect an awareness that there is generational shift in language use—people believe that older people use more Bena and younger people use more Swahili, therefore responses reflected these beliefs. It is also possible that older people were more aware of the younger generation's use of Swahili. I had many conversations with elders who were complaining that young people don't know how to speak Bena—they said that even when youth spoke Bena, it was strongly influenced by Swahili. Therefore it is possible that an individual would report that s/he was speaking Bena with his or her grandparent, but that grandparent would say that the grandchild was speaking Swahili, because it wasn't "pure Bena" or was some mixture of Bena and Swahili. Determining what exactly was happening in these situations is beyond the scope of this study, but it is an area that merits further study.

When questioned about the peer-peer relationship, responses were fairly evenly split between Bena and Swahili:



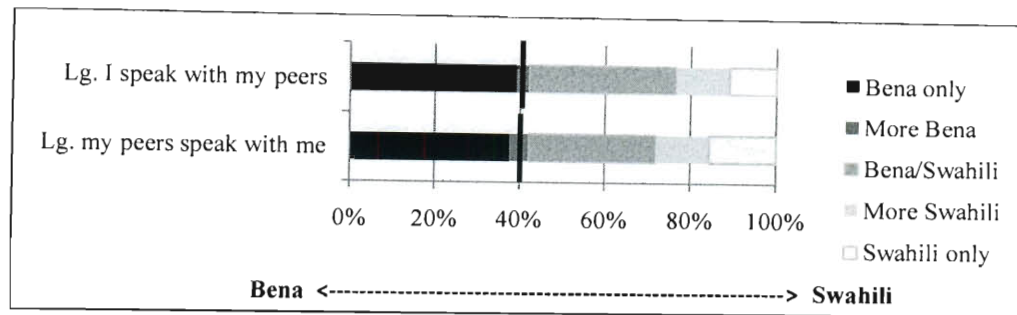


Figure 1.6 Peer-peer relationship

When the peer-peer relationship is broken down by age, a striking pattern emerges.

Figure 1.7 summarizes the responses to the situation “the language I speak with people my own age”:

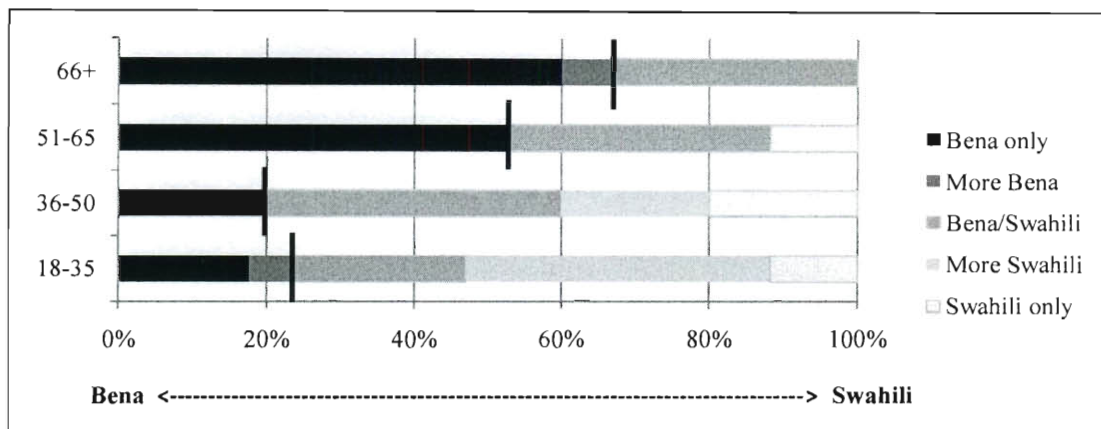
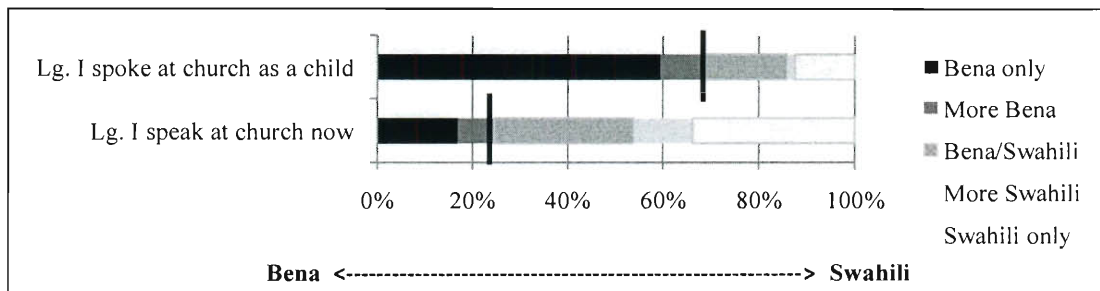


Figure 1.7 "Language I speak with people my own age", responses given by age

As shown in Figure 1.7, speakers who are 65 and older report that Bena largely dominates. 65% of respondents use either Bena only or more Bena than Swahili in conversations with their peers. No respondents over age 65 reported that Swahili dominated in conversations with their peers. The opposite is true of people between 18 and 35. 50% of respondents in the younger generation reported dominate use of Swahili

in conversations with their peers. This indicates that there is a significant generational shift taking place in language use among speakers of Bena and Swahili.

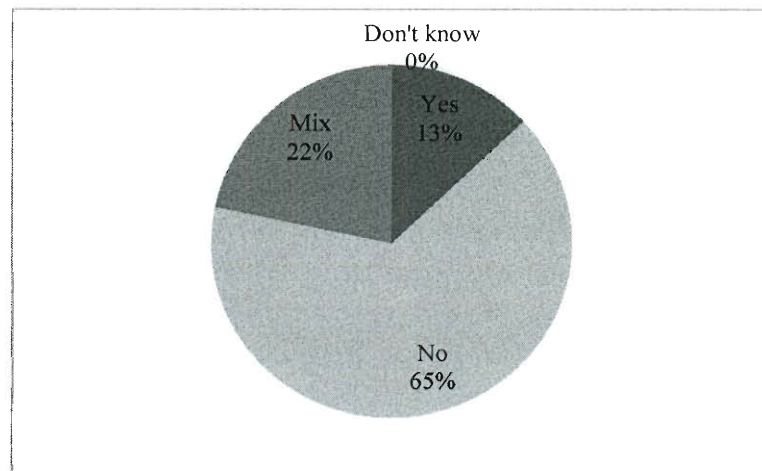
A similar pattern emerged when language use in a single domain over time was examined. Figure 1.8 gives the response to two questions—“the language I spoke at church when I was a child” and “the language I speak in church now”:



**Figure 1.8 Language use in a single domain over time**

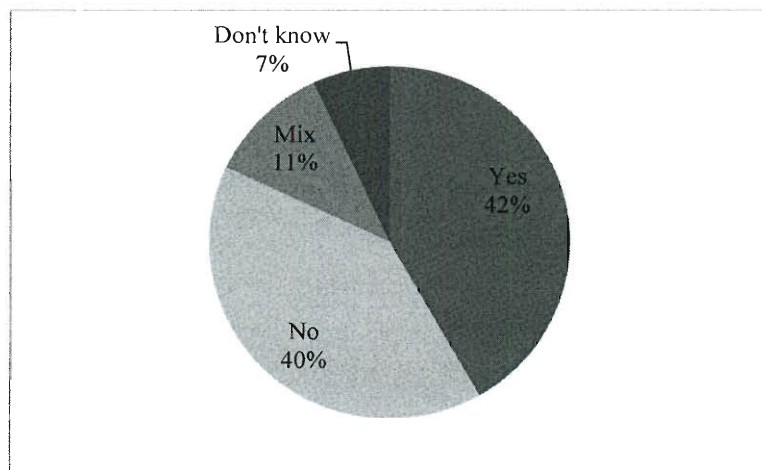
As responses to this question show, there has been a significant shift in language use in the church domain. In the past, Bena largely dominated; currently Swahili is the dominant language used in religious services.

A few questions in the survey were designed to elicit language attitudes. Figure 1.9 summarizes the responses to the question, “In the future, do you believe that your children will speak Bena with their children?”



**Figure 1.9 "Will your children speak Bena with their children?"**

As shown above, 65% of respondents do not believe that their children will continue to use Bena in the home domain. Interestingly, however, when people were asked if they believed if Bena would be left behind and the Bena people would speak only Swahili, 40% of people said "no":



**Figure 1.10 "Will Bena ever be left and the Bena only speak Swahili?"**

I observed similar sorts of situations numerous times when talking with people informally. They would tell me that they prefer to speak Swahili with their children at home, but that they were sure that Bena would continue to be spoken by future generations.

In spite of the increasing dominance of Swahili, when asked if speaking Bena was important, the response was overwhelmingly “yes”:

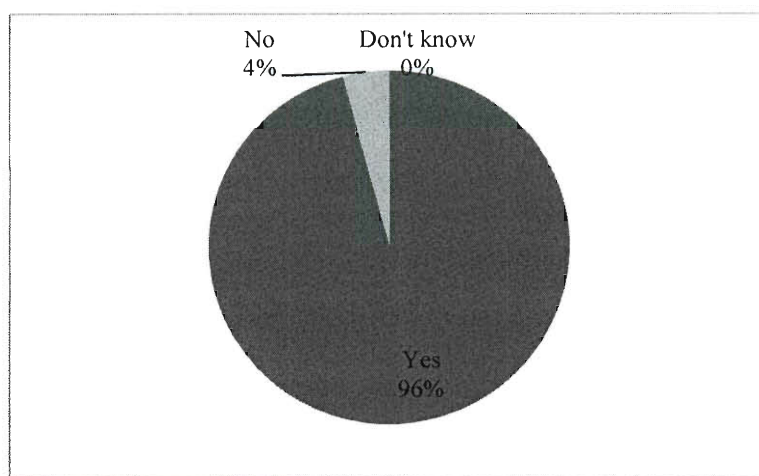


Figure 1.11 "Is speaking Bena important?"

When questioned further about the reason why speaking Bena is important, most people responded that it was important because it represents their cultural heritage or defines them as a people. In spite of this, and in spite of the fact that Bena has such a large speaker base, it is quickly losing ground to Swahili. It is also important to note that all the responses to the sociolinguistic survey were given by people living in rural areas where it was previously thought that minority languages were still dominant. Though the situation in urban areas such as Njombe has not been studied systematically, I observed that

Swahili dominates in all areas (including the home domain). Many (perhaps most) of the children I met who were living in Njombe spoke very little Bena beyond basic greetings.

### 1.5.3 Bena dialectology

According to previous studies, Bena has between five and seven different dialects. Nurse (1979) lists six dialects of Bena: Lupembe, Masakati (also known as Namanga), Masitu, Maswamu, Sovi, and Matumbi. Chaula (1989) lists seven varieties of Bena: Kilupembe, Kimasakati, Kilembula, Kisovi, Kimaswamu, Kimavemba, and Kiulanga. Nyagava (1999) divides Bena into six dialects (based on historic clans): Sovi, Vafwagi, Masakati, Nyikolwe, Vakilavugi, and Mavemba.<sup>12</sup> Hongole (2002) lists five dialects: Vasovi, Vanyikolwe, Vakilavugi, Twangabita, and Vangaveta. Finally, Muhehwa et al (2005) list seven dialects: Vanyiikolwe, Vakilavuugi, Vawangaabita, Vangaveeta, Vasoovi, Vamaveemba, and Vamaswaamu. None of these works goes into great detail regarding the listed dialects, and it is not clear how well these lists correspond with one another. The following table summarizes the dialect lists given in previous studies<sup>13</sup>:

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<sup>12</sup> Nygava also discusses a seventh group (Vakinamanga) which is not included in his original clan listing. This is a group which moved to the Ulanga Valley; it is not clear whether Vakinamanga constituted a separate clan, or was made up of people from the other six clans. Further, Nyagava's discussion is somewhat confusing and inconsistent, and it is not completely clear whether or not the six clans listed here are the only Bena clans.

<sup>13</sup> Because some sources name dialects after geographical areas and others use clan names for dialects, it is not always possible to tell which dialect names correlate with each other. Where it is known that the names used by different authors refer the same dialect, these dialect names are placed on the same row.

<b>NURSE (1979)</b>	<b>CHAULA (1989)</b>	<b>NYAGAVA (1999)</b>	<b>HONGOLE (2002)</b>	<b>MUHEHWA ET AL (2005)</b>
Lupembe	Kilupembe		Twangabita	Vatwangaabita
Matumbi	Kilembula		Vangaveta	Vangaveeta
Maswamu				Maswaamu
		Vakilavugi	Vakilavugi	Vakilavuungi
Sovi	Kisovi	Sovi	Vasovi	Vasoovi
Masakati	Kimasakati	Masakati		
		Nyikolwe	Vanyikolwe	Vanyiikolwe
Masitu	Mavemba	Mavemba		Vamaveemba
Namanga	Kiulanga	Vakinamanga		
		Vafwagi		

**Table 1.1 Bena dialects as listed in previous sources**

Most Bena speakers are aware of dialectal variation and usually seem to divide the Bena speaking area into between three and five dialectal areas. Speakers are more aware of dialectal differences in areas that are geographically close to where they live. Thus speakers who divide the Bena area into three dialects usually divide it into “people who talk just like us”, “people who live reasonably near us but don’t talk quite the same” and “everybody else”. Some older Bena associate dialects with historic clans, but this usually only happens when they are asked to name dialects. (See Nyagava 1999 for a discussion of Bena clans.)

The sociolinguistic survey attempted to clarify the dialectal situation. However, the data was extremely messy. This made it difficult to establish a conclusive, clear-cut set of Bena dialects. The messiness of the data was likely due to a number of different factors. The first is the existence of two different prestige varieties of Bena. One of the

questions that was asked of speakers during the survey addressed prestige varieties and asked where good Bena was spoken. The two most common answers were the village of Mdandu (in the northwest) and Lupembe village (located in the east). Historically, Mdandu was the cultural center of the Bena area. Near Mdandu was *Nyumbaniitu* (literally ‘dark house’) which was the location of a sacred grove and the home of the Bena chief. Lupembe, on the other hand, was the center of early twentieth century Lutheran missionary activity. The old Bena orthography was based on Bena spoken in Lupembe (see 2.5), and a Bible translation (British & Foreign Bible Society 1914), hymnal (Dayosisi la Kusini 1914), and alphabet book (Anon. 1914) were all printed in Lupembe Bena. Further, missionary schools which used the alphabet book were established throughout the Njombe district.

During the survey I observed that speakers of other (non-prestige) varieties often accommodated to one of these two prestige varieties. Speakers living in the western half of the Bena speaking area tended to accommodate towards the dialect spoken in Mdandu, whereas speakers in the east often accommodated towards the variety spoken in Lupembe. It was also observed that speakers of non-prestige varieties were usually aware of fairly specific differences between their variety and one of the prestige varieties; speakers of prestige varieties were usually only aware that other Bena spoke differently. Perhaps one of the biggest reasons for the “messiness” of dialectal data was language and dialect contact. There was significant contact between speakers of different dialects, particularly in areas along main roads. This resulted in a lot of dialect mixing. Further, in areas toward the outer edges of the Bena speaking area, there was substantial contact with

other languages. Thus, for example, northern Bena is significantly influenced by Hehe. In fact, speakers who do not live in the north criticize northern speakers for speaking *Ihibena ihya Vahehe*, or ‘Bena of the Hehe’.

The final reason why it was difficult to draw distinct dialect areas is dialect leveling due to the influence of Swahili. The impact that Swahili is making on languages such as Bena was discussed above in 1.5.2 above. One of the results of Swahili’s influence is that distinctions between dialects are beginning to be lost, particularly among younger speakers.

In spite of the difficulties encountered in assessing the dialect situation, it is possible to divide the Bena speaking area into roughly seven dialects. These are summarized in the table below. Table 1.2 also attempts to align dialects as established here with those listed in previous studies of Bena.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Close observation of Table 1.2 will reveal that not all of those dialects discussed in previous studies have a one-to-one relationship with the dialects as laid out in this work. Because none of the previous studies give any details about Bena dialects (beyond listing their names) it is not always easy to tell exactly which dialects line up with one another, and exactly where the borders between dialects are. Table 1.2 is my best estimation of the current dialect situation and the way in which it aligns with previous studies. A comprehensive analysis of Bena dialectology is certainly an area which merits further study.



DIALECT	AREA	NURSE (1979)	CHAULA (1989)	NYAGAVA (1999)	HONGOLE (2002)	MUHEHWA ET AL (2005)
<b>Twangabita</b>	E	Lupembe/ Masakati	Kilupembe/ Kimasakati	Masakati	Twangabita	Va- twangaabita
<b>Ngaveta</b>	NW	Matumbi	Kilembula	Vafwagi <sup>15</sup>	Vangaveta	Vangaveeta
<b>Maswamu</b>	W	Maswamu	Ki- maswamu	Va- kilavugi	Va- kilavugi	Maswaamu/ Vakilavuungi
<b>Sovi</b>	N	Sovi	Kisovi	Sovi	Vasovi	Vasoovi
<b>Vanyikolwe</b>	SE			Nyikolwe	Va- nyikolwe	Vanyiikolwe
<b>Maveemba</b>	S	Masitu	Mavemba	Mavemba		Vamaveemba
<b>Bena-Manga<sup>16</sup></b>	Ulanga district	Namanga	Kiulanga	Vakina- manga		

Table 1.2 Bena dialects.

The map in Figure 1.12 shows approximate location of Bena dialect areas. (Note that no boundaries are drawn between dialects as these would be very difficult to determine.)

<sup>15</sup> Nyagava (1999) only mentions Vafwagi in passing with no details about where the Vafwagi clan is located. Process of elimination led me to posit that Vafwagi may correspond with the Ngaveta dialect, though this hypothesis is extremely tenuous.

<sup>16</sup> The Bena-Manga emigrated to the Ulanga Vallen in neighboring Morogoro Region during the latter portion of the nineteenth century (Culwick 1935, Nyagava 1999). It was not possible to include the Bena-Manga in the sociolinguistic survey, and efforts to find Bena-Manga speakers living in the Njome district failed. Therefore it is impossible to say anything concrete about the Bena-Manga dialect here, though speakers living in the eastern portion of the Njombe district (the area bordering on the Morogoro region) indicate that the Bena spoken by the Bena-Manga differs considerably from that spoken by the Bena living in Njombe district. Therefore it seems reasonable to assume that Bena-Manga constitutes a seventh dialect of Bena.

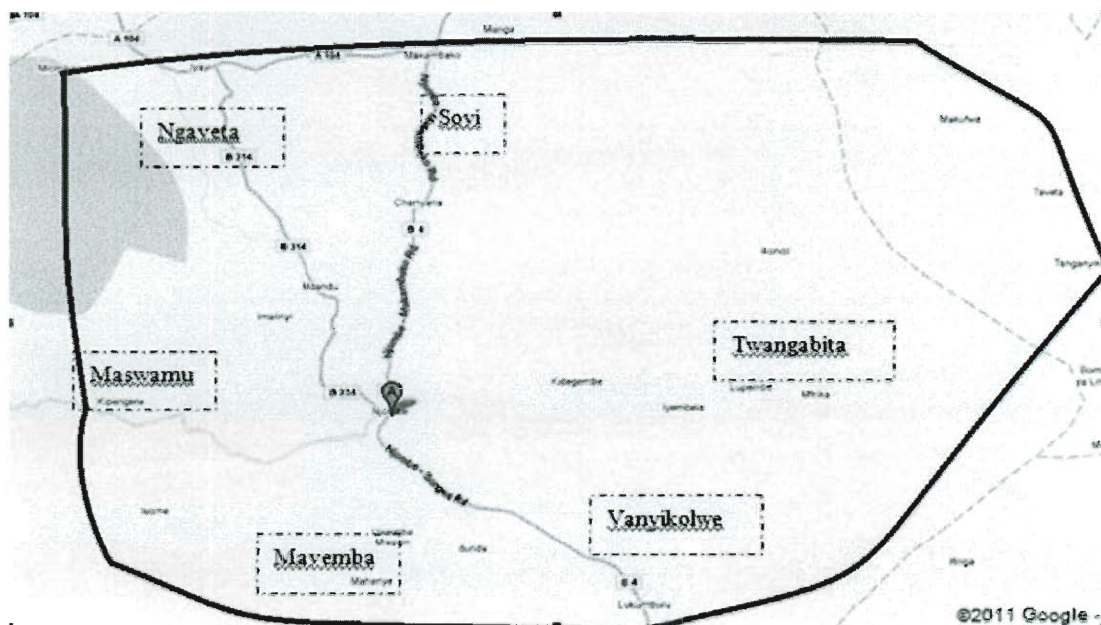


Figure 1.12 Approximate Bena dialect areas<sup>17</sup>

Much of this grammar is based on work with speakers of the Ngaveta dialect. A significant amount of elicitation was also done with speakers from the Maswamu and Sovi dialects.

## 1.6 Structure of the grammar

This chapter has given an introduction to the Bena language and its sociolinguistic situation. The rest of the grammar is devoted to a description of the structural properties of the language. Chapter 2 discusses phonetics and phonology—sections of Chapter 2 are devoted to consonants, vowels, tone, morphophonemic processes, and orthographic conventions. Chapter 3 gives a brief overview of Bena's word classes and the properties of words belonging to each class. In Chapter 4 I discuss the noun phrase. The first portion

<sup>17</sup> Approximate dialect centers have been overlaid on a map taken from maps.google.com.

of the chapter deals with nominal morphology. Like other Bantu languages, Bena uses a complex noun class system; Bena's 19 noun classes and the ways in which they are used are discussed in detail in this chapter. The second half of Chapter 4 describes other elements that occur within the noun phrase (pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, the associative construction, and inflected interrogatives).

Chapter 5 describes Bena verbal morphology. Major sections of this chapter are devoted to the tense-aspect system and to a set of verbal suffixes that Bena uses to derive one verb from another. In Chapter 6 I describe adverbs and other "invariable" (uninflecting) words in Bena. These include conjunctions, uninflected interrogatives, interjections, and ideophones. Chapter 7 describes major aspects of Bena syntax. Because Bantu languages have rich morphological systems, most grammars of Bantu languages either give a fairly cursory treatment of syntax or they ignore it completely. This dissertation aims to fill that gap by providing a description of a Bantu language that is more balanced and acknowledges the significant roles played by both morphology and syntax. The final chapter highlights several features of Bena from a typological perspective and discusses areas in which further research on Bena has the potential to contribute significantly to Bantu linguistics.

## Chapter 2

### Phonetics and Phonology

This chapter provides an overview of the phonetics and phonology of Bena. It begins with an overview of the segmental inventory of Bena—the vowels and consonants found in Bena and their distribution. This is followed by a discussion of vowel length and the phonological processes which affect vowel length. The next portion of the chapter deals with syllable structure. After this is a discussion of tone in Bena. This is followed by a description of phonological and morphophonemic processes. Finally, an overview of various orthographic systems which have been used for Bena (both historically and currently) is given along with a description of orthographic conventions used in this grammar.

In this chapter (as well as elsewhere in the grammar), IPA symbols are enclosed in square brackets (this represents a broad phonetic transcription); otherwise all Bena material is written orthographically in italics. There is significant dialectal variation in the phonological structure of Bena. Where known, dialectal variants will be described.

#### 2.1 Segmental inventory

Bena has 22 consonants and five vowels (which each exhibit contrastive length). The following sections describe each type of segment, provide evidence of phonemic status, and discuss the distribution of each segment. Note that consonant distribution is

framed in terms of a consonant's occurrence within a root (rather than a word) as morphological factors dictate which types of consonants may occur word-initially.<sup>1</sup>

### 2.1.1 Consonants

Bena consonants include stops, nasals, fricatives, affricates, prenasalized consonants, and approximants. Consonants contrast at the bilabial, labiodental, alveolar, palatal, velar, and glottal places of articulation (though each consonant type is not exhibited at each place of articulation). The following table summarizes Bena consonant phonemes (voiceless consonants are on the left of each column; voiced consonants are on the right):

	BILABIAL	LABIO-DENTAL	ALVEOLAR	PALATAL	VELAR	GLOTTAL
STOP	p    b		t    d		k    g	
NASAL	m		n	ɲ	ŋ	
FRICATIVE		f    v	s			h
AFFRICATE			ts			
PRENASALIZED	<sup>m</sup> b		<sup>n</sup> d <sup>n</sup> s		<sup>ŋ</sup> g	
APPROXIMANT	w		l	j		

Table 2.1 Bena consonant phonemes

The following sections discuss each consonant type in greater detail.

<sup>1</sup> For example, nouns begin with a noun class prefix (see Chapter 4). This means that all nouns begin with *mu-* (Classes 1, 3, and 18), *va-* (Class 2), *mi-* (Class 4), *li-* (Class 5), *ma-* (Class 6), *hi-* (Class 7), *fi-* (Class 8), *N-* (Classes 9 and 10), *lu-* (Class 11), *ha-* (Class 12), *tu-* (Class 13), *wu-* (Class 14), *hu-* (Classes 15 and 17), *pa-* (Class 16), or *gu-* (Class 20). Therefore (with the exception of some Class 9/10 nouns which have no noun class prefix), the only consonants which can occur word-initially on nouns are [m, v, l, h, f, n, ɲ, t, w, p, and g].

### 2.1.1.1 Stops

Bena contrasts voiced and voiceless stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation. Voiced and voiceless stops always occur syllable-initially and may occur both root-initially and root-medially. Stops, like all other Bena consonants, cannot occur syllable-finally (see 2.2). Voiceless stops are always aspirated. Following are some (near-) minimal sets contrasting voiced and voiceless stops:

(2)	[bumúla]	‘bump’	[p <sup>h</sup> u:múla]	‘smell good’
	[liba:t <sup>h</sup> e]	‘tin’	[lip <sup>h</sup> a:t <sup>h</sup> e]	‘peeled potato’
	[buda]	‘kill’	[bot <sup>h</sup> a]	‘plait’
	[hidó:ᵑga]	‘small stick’	[hit <sup>h</sup> ó:ᵑga]	‘small pot’
	[goma]	‘prevent’	[k <sup>h</sup> óma]	‘kill’
	[ligúhu]	‘type of fruit’	[k <sup>h</sup> ú:hu]	‘grandfather’

In Bena, both voiced and voiceless stops have phonemic contrasts at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation:

(3)	[p <sup>h</sup> ú:ᵑza]	‘feed’	[t <sup>h</sup> ú:ᵑza]	‘preserve’	[k <sup>h</sup> ú:ᵑza]	‘harvest’
	[lúbali]	‘side’	[lúdali]	‘strength’	[ligáli]	‘car’

The voiced alveolar stop /d/ can be pronounced with retroflexion before long, non-high vowels, as in [dá:ᵑda] ‘blood’ and [luḁó:gi] ‘bean’. This does not appear to be a dialectal variation, as there were some examples from nearly all dialects where speakers gave the retroflex pronunciation.

With the exception of the voiceless velar stop /k/, all stops are unrestricted in their distribution and may occur both root-initially and root-medially (see below for a

discussion of /k/).<sup>2</sup> Example (4) shows examples of each stop in root-initial and root-medial position:

(4) [p <sup>h</sup> á:p <sup>h</sup> a]	‘grandmother’	[k <sup>h</sup> ap <sup>h</sup> a]	‘scratch’
[báha]	‘here’	[bá:ba]	‘carry’
[t <sup>h</sup> isi]	‘table’	[bú:t <sup>h</sup> a]	‘moo (v)’
[dá:da]	‘father’	[súde]	‘hare’
[k <sup>h</sup> á:ja]	‘house’		
[gútsa]	‘sell’	[hega]	‘depart’

Pronunciation of the voiceless velar stop /k/ varies dialectally. In the eastern Twangabita dialect, root-medial [k] contrasts with [h]. In most of the other dialects, this contrast is neutralized and only [h] can exist root-medially. The situation is identical for /k/s occurring in prefixes. In western Maswamu Bena and in some villages along the Twangabita border<sup>3</sup>, this phoneme is pronounced [x] prefixally and root-medially. Therefore in the Twangabita dialect, [k] and [h] contrast both root-initially and root-medially.<sup>4</sup> In all other dialects, [k] and [h] (pronounced [x] in Maswamu Bena and a few villages along the Twangabita border) contrast only root-initially. Because the non-Twangabita dialects neutralize a contrast which exists in Twangabita Bena, it is likely that the Twangabita forms for /k/ and /h/ represent an older (proto-) form. This can be summarized by stating that in all Bena dialects except Twangabita Bena, non-root-initial

<sup>2</sup> Stops, like all other Bena consonants, cannot occur root-finally. This is due to the restriction disallowing syllable-final consonants.

<sup>3</sup> It should be noted that these two areas are not geographically contiguous. Maswamu Bena is spoken at the far western end of the Bena speaking area. Twangabita Bena is spoken at the far eastern end. The area which pronounces prefixal and root-medial \*k as [h] lie in between the two areas which pronounce it as [x].

<sup>4</sup> There is no contrast between /h/ and /k/ in prefixes in the Twangabita dialect, simply because there are no prefixes beginning with /h/.

\*k is pronounced [h] (or [x]). The variant pronunciations of \*k and \*h are summarized below:

POSITION	PROTO-FORM	TWANGABITA BENA	MASWAMU BENA	OTHER DIALECTS
ROOT-INITIAL	*k	[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[k <sup>h</sup> ]
	*h	[h]	[x]	[h]
ROOT-MEDIAL	*k	[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[x]	[h]
	*h	[h]	[x]	[h]
PREFIXAL	*k	[k <sup>h</sup> ]	[x]	[h]

Table 2.2 Dialectal forms of \*k and \*h

Examples illustrating these variants are given below<sup>5</sup>:

POSITION	PROTO-FORM	TWANGABITA BENA	MASWAMU BENA	OTHER DIALECTS	GLOSS
ROOT-INITIAL	*k	[lik <sup>h</sup> á:ŋa]	[lik <sup>h</sup> á:ŋa]	[lik <sup>h</sup> á:ŋa]	‘egg’
	*h	[mu <sup>h</sup> í:ⁿza]	[mu <sup>x</sup> í:ⁿza]	[mu <sup>h</sup> í:ⁿza]	‘girl’
ROOT-MEDIAL	*k	[líwo <sup>h</sup> o]	[líwoxo]	[líwoho]	‘arm’
	*h	[mugó <sup>h</sup> a]	[mugóxa]	[mugó <sup>h</sup> a]	‘spear’
PREFIXAL	*k	[k <sup>h</sup> idé:go]	[xidé:go]	[hidé:go]	‘chair’

Table 2.3 Examples showing dialectal variation of \*k and \*h

Because the majority of the Bena pronounce non-root-initial \*k as [h], it is this form which is used throughout the grammar.

<sup>5</sup> Variants of other phonemes are not represented in Table 2.3 for simplicity’s sake. Thus, for example, the variant pronunciations of the phoneme /nz/ ([ns], [nz], [nts]) are all written [nz].



## 2.1.1.2 Nasals

There are four nasals in Bena: bilabial, alveolar, palatal, and velar. Nasals can only occur syllable-initially (though see discussion on prenasalized consonants in 2.1.1.5) and occur both root-initially and root-medially. Bena nasals contrast with both voiced and voiceless stops at the bilabial, alveolar, and velar places of articulation:

(5) [p <sup>h</sup> á:mja]	‘touch (v)’	[bá:ɲa]	‘court (v)’	[má:ɲa]	‘not know’
[hop <sup>h</sup> a]	‘drink (v)’	[boba]	‘boast (v)’	[homa]	‘stab’
[t <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup> a]	‘overflow’	[dúda]	‘pour out’	[t <sup>h</sup> una]	‘swell’
[lut <sup>h</sup> égo]	‘trap’	[lidéɟe]	‘bird’	[múnego]	‘cup’
[k <sup>h</sup> é:la]	‘to love’	[gela]	‘to try’	[ɲé:la]	‘love me’

Nasals exhibit phonemic contrast at four places of articulation: bilabial, alveolar, palatal,<sup>6</sup> and velar:

(6) [má:ɲa]	[nana]	[ɲá:ɲa]	[ɲána]
‘not know’	‘live, endure’	‘burn’	‘reject me’
[mu: <sup>n</sup> da]	[nu: <sup>m</sup> bu]	[ɲu: <sup>m</sup> bu]	[ɲu: <sup>m</sup> bi]
‘horse’	‘intestines’	‘wildebeest’	‘eyelid’
[homa]	[hona]	[hó:ɲa]	[hó:ɲa]
‘stab’	‘sew’	‘flock (v, of birds)’	‘suck’

All nasals occur both root-medially and root-initially. This is shown in (7) below:

(7) [má:ma]	‘older sibling’	[liléme]	‘stomach’
[ná:mbi]	‘or’	[t <sup>h</sup> una]	‘swell’
[ɲá:le]	‘lamp’	[ <sup>n</sup> dó:ɲa]	‘rain’
[ɲá:si]	‘road’	[hó:ɲa]	‘suck’

<sup>6</sup> Note that the palatal nasal has no voiced or voiceless stop counterparts.

### 2.1.1.3 Fricatives

There are four fricatives in Bena. There are two labiodental fricatives: the voiced labiodental fricative /v/ and the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/. The alveolar fricative is voiceless /s/; there are no voiced alveolar fricatives in Bena. The final fricative is the glottal fricative /h/. All four fricatives show phonemic contrast:

(8) [fiha]	[viha]	[síhu]	[higa]
‘arrive’	‘crow (v)’	‘store, reserves’	‘respond’
[mufi: <sup>m</sup> ba]	[luví: <sup>n</sup> do]	[lusí <sup>m</sup> bo]	[lihí <sup>m</sup> bi]
‘corpse’	‘underwear’	‘slingshot’	‘type of food’
[libáfu]	[ <sup>m</sup> bávu]	[hiwá:so]	[mup <sup>h</sup> áho]
‘sore’	‘rib’	‘nest’	‘bag’

Fricatives may occur both root-initially and root-medially, as shown in the examples below:

(9) [fwá:lo]	‘clothing’	[líffi]	‘hyena’
[vi:vi]	‘bad’	[gava]	‘create’
[só: <sup>m</sup> ba]	‘fish’	[lísa]	‘feed (v)’
[há:t <sup>h</sup> e]	‘letter’	[k <sup>h</sup> ú:hu]	‘grandfather’

The voiceless labiodental fricative /f/ occurs only before high vowels /u, u:, i, i:/. This is likely the result of a historical spirantization process in which \*p spirantized to [f] before high vowels (Davy and Nurse 1982, Schadeburg 1995, Labroussi 1999, Bostoen 2008). This process shows some reflexes in present-day Bena. For example, the /p/ in the verbal stem *ogópa* ‘fear’ spirantizes to [f] in the derived word *woogófi* ‘cowardice’. See 2.4.6 below for further discussion of spirantization in Bena.

The voiced labiodental fricative can be pronounced as an approximant [v] inter-vocally. This alternate pronunciation is not limited to a specific set of dialects.

Instead, most Bena speakers seem to use this pronunciation when speaking quickly:<sup>7</sup>

- (10) [húgava] ~ [húgava] 'to create'  
       [jú:va] ~ [jú:va] 'mother'

In careful speech, speakers usually pronounce it as a fricative, [v]. Word-initially, /v/ is usually pronounced as a fricative [v], though (again, particularly in quick speech) it can also be pronounced [v] word-initially.

The alveolar fricative /s/ is always voiceless. There are no situations under which speakers voice the alveolar fricative. /s/ does not vary dialectally—it is always a voiceless alveolar fricative.

In all dialects of Bena, the glottal fricative /h/ contrasts with /k/ in non-root-initial position. In all dialects except Twangabita Bena, a historical change neutralized the contrast between \*k and \*h root-medially. This is discussed in 2.1.1.1 above. In some dialects, /h/ is pronounced [x]. This occurs in the Maswamu (western) dialect and in areas that lie along the border between the eastern Twangabita dialect and other dialects. Thus, for example, *hideego* 'chair' is pronounced [k<sup>h</sup>idé:go] in Twangabita Bena, [xidé:go] in Maswamu Bena and in some villages along the border of the Twangabita dialect, and [hidé:go] everywhere else.

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<sup>7</sup> The voiced labiodental fricative has been analyzed two different ways in previous studies. Nurse (1979) and Eaton (2007) both treat it as a voiced alveolar fricative [v]. Chaula (1989) argues that this phoneme is actually a labiodental approximant [v].

#### 2.1.1.4 Affricate

There is only one affricate in Bena: the voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/. It contrasts with both alveolar stops and fricatives:

- (11) [tsá:ŋga] ‘trick (v)’      [tʰá:ŋga] ‘help’      [sá:ma] ‘settle’  
       [hó:tsa] ‘think’      [hó:tʰa] ‘crow (v)’      [hó:sa] ‘nurse (v)’

The affricate is unrestricted in its distribution and can occur both root-initially and root-medially, as shown in the following examples:

- (12) [mátsebele] ‘corn’      [lihá:tsi] ‘fly (N)’  
       [tsuma] ‘be surprised’      [hú:tsa] ‘squeeze’

The affricate has several phonetic variants. Most Bena speakers pronounce the affricate [ts]. In the eastern (Twangabita) dialect, the affricate is more palatal: [çç]. In the extreme north (areas bordering the Hehe speaking area), the affricate is palato-alveolar: [tʃ]. Orthographically, the affricate is written <dz>, though there are no dialects that voice it.

#### 2.1.1.5 Prenasalized consonants

Bena has four different prenasalized consonants. Three of these are prenasalized voiced stops (/ᵐb/, /ᵐd/, and /ᵐg/) and one is a prenasalized fricative (/ᵐs/). Prenasalized consonants contrast phonemically with regular nasals at each place of articulation:

- (13) [ᵐba] ‘read’      [íma] ‘stand’  
       [tʰáᵐa] ‘NEG’      [tʰá:ᵐda] ‘weave’  
       [liᵐgó:ᵐse] ‘snail’      [ŋó:ᵐse] ‘snail’  
       [lukʰá:ᵐsi] ‘wall’      [lukʰá:ᵐmi] ‘issue’

Two possible treatments of homorganic NC sequences are possible. The first (the analysis followed here) is that such sequences are prenasalized consonants. The second treats them as sequences of two phonemes (see Downing 2005 for arguments in favor of such an analysis). In Morrison (2009) I argue for a treatment of NC sequences as prenasalized consonants based on both durational and distributional evidence, as well as the psychological reality for speakers of the prenasalized consonant as a syllable onset.

Prenasalized stops are usually fully voiced. However, prenasalized stops may be devoiced when they occur in the final syllable of a word. Thus, for example, *lupembe* ‘horn’ is usually pronounced [lup<sup>h</sup>é:<sup>m</sup>bɛ], but can also be pronounced [lup<sup>h</sup>é:<sup>m</sup>bɛ̥]. Prenasalized stops contrast phonemically with both voiced and voiceless stops at each place of articulation:

(14) [hó: <sup>m</sup> ba]	‘pay’	[boba]	‘boast’	[hop <sup>h</sup> a]	‘drink (v)’
[ <sup>n</sup> dɛt <sup>h</sup> a]	‘bring me’	[dɛt <sup>h</sup> a]	‘deceive’	[t <sup>h</sup> ut <sup>h</sup> a]	‘overflow’
[li <sup>n</sup> dé: <sup>m</sup> bwe]	‘wasp’	[lidé: <sup>m</sup> bwe]	‘elephant’	[t <sup>h</sup> é: <sup>m</sup> beli]	‘church’
[li <sup>n</sup> gá: <sup>m</sup> ba]	‘sweet potato’	[mugá: <sup>m</sup> ba]	‘beam’	[lik <sup>h</sup> a:ŋa]	‘egg’

The prenasalized fricative contrasts phonemically with the voiceless alveolar fricative:

(15) [mugé: <sup>n</sup> si]	‘guest’	[mugó: <sup>s</sup> i]	‘husband’
[gó: <sup>n</sup> sa]	‘harvest (v)’	[hó: <sup>s</sup> sa]	‘nurse (v)’

The fricative portion of the prenasalized fricative is often pronounced with slight voicing. Thus *mugendzi* ‘guest’ may be pronounced either [mugé:<sup>n</sup>si] or [mugé:<sup>n</sup>zi]. Usually the beginning portion of the fricative has slight voicing with the remainder of the fricative portion unvoiced. The exception to this is with Class 9/10 nouns. When a nasal prefix is

attached to a stem beginning in /ts/, the fricative portion of the prenasalized fricative is usually voiced. Thus /N+tsaayo/ is realized as [ʰzá:jo] ‘heels’ and /iN + tsuguni/ is realized as [ʰʷuguni] ‘mosquito.’ Some speakers pronounce the prenasalized fricative as a prenasalized affricate. When this occurs, the affricate is usually voiceless. This results in *mugendzi* [mugé:ʰtsi] ‘guest’ and *ndzaayo* [ʰtsá:jo] ‘heels’.

Prenasalized consonants most often occur root-medially, as in the following examples:

- |                 |         |          |               |
|-----------------|---------|----------|---------------|
| (16) [nu:ʰbúla] | ‘heart’ | [gó:ʰsa] | ‘harvest (V)’ |
| [lutʰó:ʰdwe]    | ‘star’  | [há:ʰga] | ‘mix (V)’     |

Prenasalized consonants can also occur root-initially:

- |                    |                |           |         |
|--------------------|----------------|-----------|---------|
| (17) [liʰbulugúsi] | ‘butterfly’    | [ʰdali]   | ‘when?’ |
| [liʰdé:ʰbwe]       | ‘wasp’         | [ʰde]     | ‘if’    |
| [luʰsu:ʰgútsi]     | ‘dizziness’    | [ʰdáwuli] | ‘how?’  |
| [liʰgá:ʰba]        | ‘sweet potato’ | [ʰgítʰa]  | ‘if’    |

Prenasalized consonants can also be derived at morpheme boundaries as illustrated below. (See 2.4.4 for a more detailed discussion of these processes.)

- |                     |   |                 |             |
|---------------------|---|-----------------|-------------|
| (18) N-gubi         | → | <b>ngúbi</b>    | ‘pig’       |
| CL9-pig             |   | [ʰgúbi]         |             |
| (19) hu-N-wuudz-a   | → | <b>humbúúdz</b> | ‘to ask me’ |
| CL15-1SG.OBJ-ask-FV |   | [huʰbú:tsa]     |             |
| (20) N-tsitsi       | → | <b>ndzídzi</b>  | ‘ropes’     |
| CL10-rope           |   | [ʰsítʰsi]       |             |

### 2.1.1.6 Approximants

Bena has three approximants, the palatal approximant [j], the labio-velar approximant [w], and the lateral approximant [l]. Each of the approximants occurs both root-initially and root-medially:

(21)	[wó: <sup>m</sup> ba]	‘work hard’	[liwéwe]	‘tree species’
	[jú:va]	‘mother’	[ba <sup>h</sup> gajé:je]	‘sunflower’
	[lémwa]	‘be unable’	[ajamúla]	‘yawn’

The labio-velar approximant [w] contrasts phonemically with the voiced labiodental fricative [v], as shown below:

(22)	[dzowa]	‘be spoken’	[dzova]	‘speak’
	[vawa]	‘be hurt’	[vava]	‘ache (v)’

The lateral approximant [l] contrasts phonemically with both [d] and [n]:

(23)	[lima]	‘do’	[dima]	‘shout’
	[lova]	‘fish (v)’	[nova]	‘hit me’

In Maswamu Bena, the palatal approximant is pronounced as a stop [ɟ]. Thus *kaaya* ‘house’ is pronounced [k<sup>h</sup>a:ɟa] and *luyuhi* ‘bee’ is pronounced [lúɟuxi]. In villages bordering this dialect area, speakers use both pronunciations. Some speakers pronounce the labio-velar approximant [w] as a fricative [β] or as a labiodental approximant [ʋ]. These alternate pronunciations were extremely inconsistent, however, and it was impossible to isolate these pronunciations to any particular dialect(s).

The glides [w] and [j] can follow nearly any other consonant (see 2.2 below for a discussion of syllable structure). The following examples illustrate some of the possible CG sequences:

- |      |                                      |               |                        |           |
|------|--------------------------------------|---------------|------------------------|-----------|
| (24) | [p <sup>h</sup> wé:p <sup>h</sup> a] | ‘whisper (v)’ | [p <sup>h</sup> já:na] | ‘forgive’ |
|      | [mwa:na]                             | ‘child’       | [mja:ha]               | ‘year’    |
|      | [fwí:li]                             | ‘hair’        | [fjá:la]               | ‘fingers’ |
|      | [dí: <sup>n</sup> dwa]               | ‘be closed’   | [a: <sup>n</sup> djo]  | ‘right’   |
|      | [lwá:jo]                             | ‘heel’        | [ljó:si]               | ‘smoke’   |

There are some restrictions on consonant types which can be followed by glides. First, two glides cannot occur consecutively. Thus, /ww/, /jj/, /wj/, and /jw/ are all impossible sequences. Second, the labiodental fricative /v/ cannot be followed by the labio-velar approximant /w/. If such a sequence occurs, the fricative deletes, as in the following example:

- |      |               |   |         |             |
|------|---------------|---|---------|-------------|
| (25) | dzov-w-a      | → | dzówa   | ‘be spoken’ |
|      | Speak-PASS-FV |   | [tsowa] |             |

/v/ deletion is described in 2.4.5. Several types of CG sequences are not evidenced in the current data set. /w/ is never preceded by /<sup>n</sup>dz/. /j/ is never preceded by /<sup>m</sup>b/, /s/, /dz/, or /ŋ/.

### 2.1.2 Vowels

There are five vowels in Bena. These are summarized below:



	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH	i		u
MID	e		o
LOW		a	

Table 2.4 Bena vowel phonemes

Note that the symbol [a] is used here to represent a low central vowel. [e] is a front mid vowel (IPA [ɛ]).

The (near-) minimal pairs below illustrate phonemic contrast between various vowels:

(26) [vǎːᵐba]	‘to roast’	[véːᵐba]	‘to cry’	[muvíːᵐdi]	‘river’
[vóːᵐba]	‘to do’	[vúːᵐga]	‘to rebuke’		
[ᵑgóːᵐtsa]	‘harvest’	[ᵑgóːᵐtsi]	‘snail’		
[tʰeːᵐgúha]	‘to miscarry’	[tʰiːᵐgúha]	‘to dislocate’		
[ᵐpʰíːᵐge]	‘prisoner’	[ᵐpʰíːᵐgo]	‘rope’		
[pʰilúsa]	‘to return something’	[pʰulúsa]	‘to twist’		

Vowel length in Bena is phonemic. This results in ten vowel contrasts at the segmental level (five phonemic vowels, each with contrastive length). The contrast between short and long vowels in Bena is illustrated below:

(27) [havíla]	‘bewitch’	[ha:víla]	‘remove from water’
[loléla]	‘expect’	[loléːla]	‘be patient’
[múhitsi]	‘judge’	[muhíːtsi]	‘thief’
[hóva]	‘board (v)’	[hóːva]	‘yell’
[kʰula]	‘grow’	[kʰúːla]	‘uproot’

All five vowels may occur in any position within a stem. Long and short vowels may occur stem-initially and stem-medially, but long vowels cannot occur stem-finally. (See

2.1.3 for a discussion of vowel length.)

(28) [ana: <sup>ɔ</sup> ga]	‘destroy’	[fuvála]	‘be late’	[so: <sup>m</sup> ba]	‘fish’
[a:tsa]	‘come’	[bá:ba]	‘carry’		
[egamíla]	‘lean on’	[heha]	‘laugh’	[hidége]	‘bird’
[e:lúha]	‘climb’	[lidé:de]	‘grasshopper’		
[ibát <sup>h</sup> a]	‘hold’	[lidísi]	‘banana plant’	[ludó:gi]	‘bean’
[i:nat <sup>h</sup> íla]	‘pay attention’	[mudí:mi]	‘boy’		
[ota]	‘bask’	[lítsogolo]	‘rooster’	[lut <sup>h</sup> égo]	‘trap (N)’
[o:va]	‘make noise’	[hado:do]	‘pinkie finger’		
[uma]	‘dry up’	[ <sup>ɔ</sup> gúbi]	‘pig’	[nálafu]	‘ant’
[urtsa]	‘squeeze’	[mwajú:va]	‘woman’		

While all vowels occur in stems, the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are somewhat restricted in their distribution. They never occur in prefixes; in suffixes, they only occur in nominalizing suffixes, in the possessive clitic, and as harmonized variants of several verbal derivational suffixes.

All vowels in Bena are voiced, though vowels are often devoiced when they occur at the end of a prosodic phrase. Devoicing of vowels is particularly common in high vowels (/i/ and /u/) when they follow voiceless consonants:

(29) [p <sup>h</sup> i:p <sup>h</sup> i]	~	[p <sup>h</sup> i:p <sup>h</sup> ɨ]	‘nearby’
[wutsáfu]	~	[wutsáɸu]	‘filth’

### 2.1.3 Vowel length

Vowel length in Bena has several sources. Vowels may be underlyingly long (as illustrated by (27) above) or vowel length may be derived through a number of processes. These include vowel coalescence, compensatory lengthening, and vowel lengthening in nouns with monomoraic stems. Triple long vowels do not exist in Bena. Except for grammatical length arising from vowel coalescence, long and lengthened vowels are restricted to the penultimate and antepenultimate syllables of a word.

#### 2.1.3.1 Underlying vowel length

Underlying vowel length is phonemically contrastive. This was illustrated by the examples given in (27). Phonemically long vowels are restricted to certain syllable positions. All word-final vowels are short; long vowels never occur word-finally. The penultimate syllable of a word may contain either long or short vowels. The antepenultimate syllable of a word may only contain a long vowel if the penultimate syllable of the word is short. (Therefore a word may not contain a long antepenultimate syllable and a long penultimate syllable.<sup>8</sup>) Underlyingly long vowels never occur earlier than the antepenultimate syllable.<sup>9</sup> This is summarized below:

---

<sup>8</sup> A possible explanation for this is to treat the final syllable of a word as extra-metrical. Then long and lengthened vowels (with the exception of grammatically long vowels) are restricted to the final foot of a word, and that foot may contain one long or lengthened vowel at maximum.

<sup>9</sup> Though the penultimate and antepenultimate syllables of a word are common locations for stress cross-linguistically, Bena does not have a stress system. In a stress system, each word would must contain a stressed syllable. This means that if length were a manifestation of stress in Bena each word would have to contain a long vowel. However, in Bena it is possible to have a word that has only short syllables (for example *libihi* 'tree').

PRECEDING ANTEPENULTIMATE SYLLABLE			
...CV.CV.CV.CV		*...CVV.CV.CV.CV	
<i>mwi.ga.ní.dzi</i>	‘teacher’	---	
<i>hupuluhídza</i>	‘to listen’		
ANTEPENULTIMATE SYLLABLE			
...CV.CVV.CV		*...CVV.CVV.CV	
<i>hi.mú.daa.na</i>	‘lizard’	--	
<i>hu.ke.mée.la</i>	‘to call’		
...CV.CV.CV		...CVV.CV.CV	
<i>nga.lú.ve.he.le</i>	‘hawk’	<i>lí.sii.hi.dza</i>	‘ear’
<i>hu.pí.lú.sa</i>	‘to respond’	<i>hu.doo.yá.ma</i>	‘to crouch’
PENULTIMATE SYLLABLE			
...CV.CV		...CVV.CV	
<i>mu.gó.yo</i>	‘elder’	<i>ma.núú.nu</i>	‘fruit’
<i>hu.ná.sa</i>	‘to interview’	<i>hu.kée.la</i>	‘to be happy’
FINAL SYLLABLE			
...CV		*...CVV	
<i>li.gó.be</i>	‘turtle’	--	
<i>hú.gi.na</i>	‘to increase’		

Table 2.5 Underlyingly long vowels in different syllable positions

In addition to the environments described above, long vowels also do not occur in noun class augments and are rare in other prefixes (the exception to this is the remote past prefix *aa-*). Thus while length contrasts in Bena are phonemic and exist underlyingly, long vowels exhibit a restricted distribution, occurring underlyingly only in the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables of a word.

### 2.1.3.2 Vowel coalescence

Long vowels may arise through coalescence. This occurs when vowel adjacency is derived at a morpheme boundary. Because sequences of non-identical vowels are not permitted in Bena, this problem can be solved in one of two ways. Either one vowel shortens and becomes an approximant (see 2.4.1) or vowel coalescence occurs (the first vowel assimilates to the second, resulting in a long vowel). Both strategies are used in

Bena. Glide formation is used when a high front vowel /i/ is followed by any other non-identical vowel or when a high back vowel /u/ is followed by a non-rounded vowel.

Vowel coalescence is used in all other situations. Following are some examples of vowel coalescence:

- (30) a. **ma-iho** → **míiho** ‘eyes’  
 CL6-eye [mí:ho]
- b. **u-lá-elúh-a** → **ulééluha** ‘you will climb’  
 2SG-FUT-climb-FV [ulé:luha]
- c. **hu-ogóp-a** → **hoogópa** ‘to be afraid’  
 CL15-fear-FV [ho:góp<sup>h</sup>a]

If morpheme concatenation results in a series of three vowels, vowel coalescence applies first, followed by deletion of one vowel (since triple-long vowels are not allowed in Bena):

- (31) **ndi-aa-gon-ág-a** → **ndaaagonaga** → **ndaagonága** ‘I slept (a long time ago)’  
 1SG-P4-sleep-NARR-FV [ˈda:gonága]

### 2.1.3.3 Compensatory lengthening

Vowel length can be derived through compensatory lengthening. Two types of compensatory lengthening exist in Bena. The first of these is compensatory lengthening following glide formation; the second type of compensatory lengthening precedes prenasalized consonants. Compensatory lengthening following glide formation always occurs at a morpheme boundary; compensatory lengthening preceding a prenasalized

consonant may or may not occur at a morpheme boundary. Both types of compensatory lengthening are fairly common in Bantu languages (Clements 1986, Wiltshire 1999, Downing 2005). Both processes result in lengthened vowels in the antepenultimate and penultimate syllables of a word; and both are blocked earlier than the antepenultimate syllable.

#### 2.1.3.3.1 Compensatory lengthening resulting from glide formation

Adjacent non-identical vowels are not permitted in Bena. One strategy for resolving sequences of non-identical vowels is glide formation (see 2.4.1). (The other strategy is vowel coalescence, which was described in 2.1.3.2.) Glide formation occurs when a high front vowel /i/ is followed by any other non-identical vowel or when a high back vowel /u/ is followed by a non-rounded vowel. When this happens, the first vowel turns into a glide (/j/ and /w/ respectively) and the second vowel is compensatorily lengthened. Several examples of this process are given below:

- (32) a. fi-ála → *fyáála* ‘fingers’  
           CL8-finger           [fjá:la]
- b. li-elú → *lyéélú* ‘white (CL5)’  
           CL5-white           [ljé:lu]
- c. hi-ovo → *hyóóvo* ‘toilet’  
           CL7-toilet           [ʃjó:vo]
- d. hu-elúh-a → *hweelúha* ‘to climb’  
           CL15-climb-FV       [hwe:lúha]

- e. u-im-e → *wíime!* ‘stand!’  
 2SG-stand-FV [wí:me]

There is a restriction on compensatory lengthening which results from glide formation that is identical to the restriction in Bena on underlyingly long vowels: compensatory lengthening does not occur earlier than the antepenultimate syllable of a word. Thus compensatory lengthening is blocked in (33):

- (33) a. lu-andahyeene → *lwandahyééne* \**lwaandahyééne* ‘certainty’  
 CL11-truth [lwa<sup>n</sup>daʃé:ne]
- b. hu-iganídz-a → *hwiganídza* \**hwiiganídza* ‘to teach’  
 CL15-teach-FV [hwiganítsa]

#### 2.1.3.3.2 Compensatory lengthening preceding prenasalized consonants

The second type of compensatory lengthening involves prenasalized consonants. Underlyingly, Bena allows syllable-final nasals which bear morae. However, because Bena does not allow syllable-final consonants, the mora of the nasal delinks and is reassigned to the preceding vowel. This results in a lengthened vowel, followed by a prenasalized consonant.<sup>10</sup> This process is illustrated in (34):

<sup>10</sup> Compensatory lengthening before NC sequences is often presented as an argument in favor of treating such sequences as prenasalized consonants, rather than as separate phonemes. (See, for example, Clements 1986 and Wiltshire 1999 for a discussion of prenasalization and compensatory lengthening in Ganda (E16).) An opposing view is presented by Downing (2005) who argues that it is not necessary to treat NC sequences as prenasalized consonants in order to explain compensatory lengthening.

- (34) a.  $\begin{array}{ccc} \mu & \mu & \\ | & | & \\ C & V & N \end{array}$       b.  $\begin{array}{ccc} \mu & \mu & \\ | & \# & \\ C & V & N \end{array}$       c.  $\begin{array}{ccc} \mu & \mu & \\ | & \text{---} \# & \\ C & V & N \end{array}$

Unlike compensatory lengthening resulting from glide-formation, compensatory lengthening before a prenasalized consonant is not restricted to morpheme boundaries.

Following are several examples of the process:

- (35) a. hi-dúnda → *hidúúnda* 'mountain'  
CL7-mountain [hidú:<sup>n</sup>da]
- b. somba → *soomba* 'fish'  
fish [so:<sup>m</sup>ba]
- c. hu-pingúl-a → *hupiingúla* 'to tie'  
CL15-tie-FV [hup<sup>h</sup>i:<sup>ŋ</sup>gúla]
- d. li-démbwe → *lidéémbwe* 'elephant'  
CL5-elephant [lidé:<sup>m</sup>bwe]
- e. hu-vanga → *huváánga* 'to begin'  
CL15-begin [huvá:<sup>ŋ</sup>ga]

There are a few situations in which compensatory lengthening does not occur before prenasalized consonants. The first of these parallels general restrictions in Bena on vowel length. Compensatorily lengthened vowels preceding prenasalized consonants (as with other types of long and lengthened vowels) cannot occur earlier than the antepenultimate syllable of a word. This restriction is illustrated by the following examples:



- (36) a. hu-dínd-a → *hudíínda* 'to close'  
 CL15-close-FV [hudí:ːnda]  
 b. hu-dínd-úl-íl-w-a → *hudíndulíwa* 'to be opened by/with  
 CL15-close-SEP-APPL-PASS-FV [hudíːndulíwa] someone/something'
- (37) a. hu-gend-a → *hugéénda* 'to walk'  
 CL15-walk-FV [hugé:ːnda]  
 b. hu-genda-gend-a → *hugendagéénda* 'to wander around'  
 CL15-REDUP-walk-FV [hugeːndagé:ːnda]

In both (a) examples compensatory lengthening of the antepenultimate syllable occurs. In both (b) examples, compensatory lengthening of the vowel preceding a prenasalized consonant is blocked because the vowel is located earlier in the word than the antepenultimate syllable.

The second restriction on compensatory lengthening involves the augmented forms of Class 9 and 10 nouns. Most nouns in Classes 9 and 10 begin with a nasal; thus initial prenasalized consonants are fairly common in these two noun classes. The augment vowel for these two noun classes is /i-/. This vowel is never compensatorily lengthened even if it occurs in the penultimate or antepenultimate syllable:

- (38) a. i-N-béva → *imbéva* \**iimbéva* 'rat'  
 AUG-CL9-rat [iᵐbéva]
- b. i-N-dim-e → *indíme* \**iindíme* 'agriculture'  
 AUG-CL9-farm-NMLZ [iᵐdíme]
- c. i-N-yuhi → *indzuhi* \**iíndzuhi* 'bees'  
 AUG-CL10-bee [íntsuhi]

- d. i-N-gúbi → *ingúbi* \**iingúbi* ‘pig’  
 AUG-CL9-pig [i<sup>9</sup>gúbi]

#### 2.1.3.4 Lengthening in nouns with mono-syllabic stems

In nouns with mono-syllabic stems, the vowel in the first syllable is lengthened:

- (39) a. mu-nu → *múúnu* ‘person’ b. va-nu → *váánu* ‘people’  
 CL1-person [mú:nu] CL2-person [vá:nu]
- c. hi-nu → *híínu* ‘thing’ d. fi-nu → *fíínu* ‘things’  
 CL7-thing [hí:nu] CL8-nu [fí:nu]
- e. mu-mi → *múúmi* ‘flying ant’ f. mi-mi → *míími* ‘flying ants’  
 CL3-ant [mú:mi] CL4-ant [mí:mi]
- g. lu-va → *lúúva* ‘fence’ h. ma-va → *mááva* ‘fences’  
 CL5-fence [lú:va] CL6-fence [má:va]
- i. i-fwa → *íífwa* ‘death’  
 AUG-death [í:fwa]

#### 2.1.3.5 Vowel shortening before the antepenultimate syllable

In Bena, long and lengthened vowels are disallowed before the antepenultimate syllable of a word. The only exception to this is grammatical length arising either through vowel coalescence or through a grammatical morpheme containing a long vowel (such as the remote past tense marker *aa-*). This means that any processes that would result in vowel length earlier than the antepenultimate syllable of a word are blocked, and

underlyingly long vowels occurring earlier than the antepenultimate syllable are shortened.

If a verb contains enough suffixes so that the underlying long vowel occurs earlier than the antepenultimate syllable, it is shortened. Compare the forms below, where each of the verbs in the (a) forms contain underlyingly long vowels; in the (b) forms, these long vowels are shortened:

- (40) a. hu-fúúng'a → *hufúúng'a* 'to smoke (INTR)'  
 CL15-smoke-FV [hufú:ŋa]
- b. hu-fúúng'-íl-idz-a → *hufung'ilidza* \**hufuung'ilidza* 'to cause to smoke'  
 CL15-smoke-APPL-CAUS-FV [hufuŋilítsa]
- (41) a. hu-seedúh-a → *huseedúha* 'to turn (INTR)'  
 CL15-turn-FV [huse:dúha]
- b. hu-seeduh-il-a → *huseduhíla* \**huseeduhíla* 'to turn to'  
 CL15-turn-APPL-FV [huseduhíla]

In reduplicated forms, if the unreduplicated form contains a long vowel, this vowel is shortened in the reduplicant, in order to keep from violating the rule that long and lengthened vowels do not occur before the antepenultimate syllable:

- (42) a. hu-déény-a → *hudéénya* 'to break'  
 CL15-break-FV [hudé:ŋa]
- b. hu-déénya-déény-a → *hudenyardéénya* \**hudeenyadéénya* 'to shatter'  
 CL15-REDUP-break-FV [hudenadé:ŋa]

Similarly, in nominal compounds, underlying long vowels are shortened if they occur earlier than the antepenultimate syllable:

- (43) *dááda* + *fyáála* → *dadafyáála* \**daadafyáála* ‘father-in-law’  
‘father’ ‘in.law’ [dadafjá:la]

### 2.1.3.6 Final vowel deletion

Word-final vowels are optionally deleted when the following word begins in a vowel. This is part of a general constraint against adjacent vowels in Bena (other processes which prevent non-identical vowel adjacency include vowel coalescence, see 2.1.3.2, and glide formation, discussed in 2.4.1). A few examples of word-final vowel deletion are given below (vowel deletion is represented by an ' on the first line of transcription:

- |      |                                    |              |                        |                  |                   |
|------|------------------------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| (44) | <i>Umudál'</i>                     | <i>úy'</i>   | <i>ivááng'</i>         | <i>uhwíimb'</i>  | <i>ulwíimbo.</i>  |
|      | <i>Umudála</i>                     | <i>úyu</i>   | <i>iváángá</i>         | <i>uhwíimba</i>  | <i>ulwíimbo.</i>  |
|      | u-mu-dal-a                         | uyu          | a-i-váng-a             | u-hu-ímb-a       | u-lu-ímbo.        |
|      | AUG-CL1-woman-FV                   | PROX.DEM.CL1 | CL1-PRESF-<br>begin-FV | AUG-CL15-sing-FV | AUG-<br>CL11-song |
|      | 'This woman began to sing a song.' |              |                        |                  |                   |

(08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*: line 031)

- (45) *Agán'            ásaḥ'            alemíilwe,    úndeembwe.*  
*Agáne            ásahe            alemíilwe,    úndeembwe.*  
a-gan-e        a-sah-e        a-lemw-ile    u-N-dembwe  
CL1-try-FV   CL1-search-FV   CL1-fail-FV   AUG-CL9-elephant  
‘He tried to search for him, he failed, the elephant.’

(08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant*, Version 3: line 090)

## 2.2 Syllable structure

Only open syllables are allowed in Bena;<sup>11</sup> a similar restriction on syllable structure is found in most other Bantu languages (Hyman 2003). Word-initial syllables can occur with or without an onset. Syllable onsets in Bena may be either simple or complex. Complex onsets include prenasalized consonants, the voiceless alveolar affricate, and consonant + glide sequences. This results in several syllable types:

(46)	V	V:	GV	GV:	N̩
	CV	CV:	CGV	CGV:	

In (46), C represents all consonant types (including prenasalized consonants and affricates) except glides; G represents the glides [j] (orthographically <y>) and [w]; V represents any vowel. N̩ represents a syllabic nasal. (Note, however, that this schema treats prenasalized consonants as complex onsets, rather than as a sequence of a nasal followed by a consonant, see Morrison 2009).

CV is by far the most common syllable type and can be found in any position in a word. GV and CGV are also unrestricted in their distribution (though glides commonly arise from vowel adjacency resolution, see 2.4.1, and these syllable types are most often found at morpheme boundaries). Syllables with no onset (V and V:) occur only word-initially. Word-final syllables can only contain short vowels. Syllabic nasals are possible only when *mu-* (either a noun class prefix or the third person singular object marker) is

<sup>11</sup> This depends on one's position with regard to the segmental status of homorganic NC sequences. If NC sequences are treated as single segments, then it can safely be stated that Bena allows only open syllables. If, however, homorganic NC sequences are treated as consonant clusters, then Bena does allow closed syllables, but only one type of coda consonant (nasals). See Morrison (2009) for further discussion.

reduced to *m*- (see 2.4.2). Examples of each syllable type are given in Table 2.6

(examples are given in IPA):

SYLLABLE TYPE	WORD-INITIAL	WORD-MEDIAL	WORD-FINAL
<b>V</b>	<b>u.mwa:.na</b> 'child'	--	--
<b>CV</b>	<b>mu.bí.hi</b> 'tree'	<b>hu.wu.la.ní.tsa</b> 'to teach'	<b>hu.gé:..<sup>a</sup>da</b> 'to walk'
<b>V:</b>	<b>á:.tsi.le</b> 's/he has come'	--	--
<b>CV:</b>	<b>bo:.ma</b> 'town'	<b>hu.t<sup>h</sup>i.ní:.na</b> 'to swim'	--
<b>GV</b>	<b>wu.t<sup>h</sup>á.mwa</b> 'sickness'	<b>ᵑga.ji.va</b> 'bird species'	<b>mu.gó:.jo</b> 'elder'
<b>CGV</b>	<b>mwi.ga.nít<sup>s</sup>i</b> 'teacher'	<b>nda:..ᵑgwi.p<sup>h</sup>e</b> 'early'	<b>li.hó:..mwe</b> 'blossom'
<b>GV:</b>	<b>ju:..ve</b> '1.SG.PRO'	<b>ba.ᵑga.jé:..je</b> 'sunflower'	--
<b>CGV:</b>	<b>fwa:..lo</b> 'clothing'	<b>ᵑga.lu.ᵑgwá:..da</b> 'ostrich'	--
<b>N</b>	<b>m̩.dí:..mi</b> (mu.dí:..mi) 'boy'	<b><sup>a</sup>di.hu.ᵑp̩.t<sup>h</sup>o.va</b> ( <sup>a</sup> di.hu.mú.t <sup>h</sup> o.va) 'I am hitting her'	--

Table 2.6 Bena syllable types

Syllables containing long vowels are composed of two morae; vowels in syllables containing a single mora are short. Morae are a relevant unit for phonological analysis and play a particularly crucial role in tone assignment. Verbal tone melodies are

dependent on a mora-based analysis (see 2.3 below). At the segmental level, however, the syllable is a more relevant unit of analysis. An example of this is seen in the restriction on long and lengthened vowels (with the exception of grammatically long vowels) earlier than the antepenultimate syllable of a word. Therefore at the segmental level, the syllable is the crucial unit of analysis; at the tonal level it is the mora which is important.

### 2.3 Tone

As in most other Bantu languages, tone plays an important role in Bena. There is both lexical and grammatical tone. Lexical tone is underlying; grammatical tone in Bena occurs when High is assigned to a particular mora (as in the case of tense-aspect combinations, which assign tone to specific morae).<sup>12</sup> Morae may be either High toned or toneless, and each word is assigned a single High tone. With only a few exceptions, word-final tone is disallowed. Odden (1988) has argued that Bena tone falls within what he refers to as “predictable tone systems.” In such systems, the location of High is largely predictable on the basis of phonological shape and/or verbal tense and aspect.

Aspects of Bena tone have been described in several different works. Nurse (1979) gives a brief description of tone in his grammatical sketch of Bena. Odden (1988) describes Bena as one of several languages exemplifying predictable tone systems. Eaton (2007) includes an analysis of Bena tone in her phonological sketch of the language. Each of these analyses of Bena tone differs quite significantly from one another. It is not clear at this point why the analyses differ so much, however it is likely due to dialectal

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<sup>12</sup> The role played by morae in tone assignment is discussed in further detail in 2.3.2

differences. Nurse's analysis is based on Eastern Twangabita Bena; Eaton describes Nyikolwe Bena; Odden does not give any details about the source of his data. Because the three works offer such different pictures of the Bena tone system, it is worth describing each analysis here. Therefore the following sections will begin with an overview of all three analyses. This will be followed by my analysis, which is largely based on the Ngaveta dialect. I begin with a description of general tonal properties in Bena. This is followed by sections on both nominal and verbal tone.

### 2.3.1 Previous analyses of Bena tone

With respect to Bena, Odden makes a number of claims. First, only one High tone is allowed per word. Second, only two nominal tone patterns are possible: either High tone exists on the mora immediately preceding the stem ("pre-stem initial", or PSI) or there is a tone on the penultimate mora (PU) (a hyphen is used to indicate the morpheme break between prefix and stem):

<b>TONE PATTERN</b>	<b>EXAMPLE</b>	<b>GLOSS</b>
<b>PRE-STEM INITIAL (PSI)</b>	[mú-go:si]	'man'
	[hí-fuva]	'chest'
<b>PENULTIMATE (PU)</b>	[lu-fwiíli]	'hair'
	[li-fulúha]	'cloud'

**Table 2.7 Examples of Bena nominal tone patterns (Odden 1988)**



With respect to verbal tone, Odden claims that the majority of verbal forms have a penultimate High. PSI occurs with the future tense and subjunctive verbs which have object prefixes. Verbs marked for recent past have High tone on the stem-initial syllable:

TONE PATTERN	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
<b>PRE-STEM INITIAL (PSI)</b>	[alaá- limalima]	‘he will cultivate casually’ (remote)
	[jí-kwaamile]	‘put them (CL10) to pasture’ (subjunctive)
<b>PENULTIMATE (PU)</b>	[hu-limíla]	‘to cultivate for’
	[ndaa-limága]	‘I used to cultivate’
<b>STEM INITIAL (SI)</b>	[ndi-límile]	‘I cultivated’
	[i-ínatye]	‘he took it seriously’

Table 2.8 Examples of Bena verbal tone patterns (Odden 1988)

Eaton’s (2007) analysis of tone in Bena is quite different. With respect to nominal tone, she found that tone on the antepenultimate mora (APU, a pattern that Odden did not observe for Bena) was the most common (173 out of 518 nouns were unambiguously APU). The PSI pattern was the second most common pattern (112 nouns; a further 114 nouns were ambiguous between APU and PSI). Tone on the penultimate mora (the type which Odden analyzed as the default) was actually the least common pattern in Eaton’s data (only 89 out of 518 nouns exhibited this pattern):

TONE PATTERN	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ANTEPENULTIMATE (APU)	[ifi-sígatso]	‘leftovers’
	[ama-hóòtso]	‘thoughts’
PRE-STEM INITIAL (PSI)	[umú-go:si]	‘man’
	[ilí-kanga:go]	‘rainbow’
PENULTIMATE (PU)	[amá-tswi]	‘words’
	[ili-fugamílo]	‘knee’

Table 2.9 Examples of Bena nominal tone patterns (Eaton 2007)

Eaton agrees with Odden that future tense verbs exhibit PSI, but notes that present perfect verbs also exhibit this pattern. According to Eaton, subjunctive verbs do not exhibit PSI pattern (as Odden claims) but have stress on the penultimate mora. The remainder of verbal tone is APU:

TONE PATTERN	EXAMPLE	GLOSS
ANTEPENULTIMATE (APU)	[hu-díbala]	‘to be deaf’
	[i-téleha]	‘he cooked’
PRE-STEM INITIAL (PSI)	[alá-teleha]	‘he will cook’
	[á-teliíhe]	‘he has cooked’
PENULTIMATE (PU)	[a-teléhe]	‘he should cook’

Table 2.10 Examples of verbal tone patterns (Eaton 2007)

Nurse (1979) gives an analysis of Bena tone which is different from both Odden and Eaton. He claims that Bena nouns always have a high tone on the prefix, the final vowel is always low, and the vowels in between may vary (either all high or all low). Unfortunately, Nurse gives no examples of this, and all the nouns in his grammar sketch

are unmarked for tone. With respect to Bena verbs, Nurse claims that verbs can be divided into two groups on the basis of their underlying tone: one group is all low, the other has a low tone on the final syllable with the remainder of the verb being High (again, he gives no examples of these two types). This situation is further complicated by the tense system, which imposes certain patterns on the verb and overrides underlying tone. Here Nurse contrasts *twítóva* ‘we are fighting’ with *twítóva* ‘we will fight one another’.

It is impossible at this point to determine exactly why the three analyses differ. Odden uses a syllable-based analysis. Eaton’s is based on morae. It is unclear from Nurse’s description whether he based his analysis on syllables or morae. Eaton limited her analysis to a single speaker; Odden does not give any details about the source of his data, beyond acknowledging Mary Odden for providing him with the data. Further, he acknowledges that he has only a limited data set and the portion of his paper devoted to Bena is only two pages long. There are a number of reasons that may explain why these studies differ: these include different units of analysis, limited data sets, small numbers of speakers, mistranscription, etc. One of the most likely explanations is dialectal variation. Both Eaton and Nurse mention the presence of significant dialectal variation with respect to tone. The 2009 sociolinguistic survey confirmed the existence of dialectal variation in tone; this is discussed further in 2.3.5

### 2.3.2 The present study

As was observed in each of the studies discussed in the previous section, Bena has two tones. Morae can be either High-toned or toneless.<sup>13</sup> A word allows at maximum a single High tone. High-toned syllables can more accurately be described as syllables with a High falling tone. This is true in both short syllables (composed of a single mora) and long syllables (composed of two morae).<sup>14</sup> Long High syllables show falling tone regardless of whether they are underlyingly High-Low (in the case of a syllable composed of two different morae) or High-High (in the case of a lengthened vowel).

A number of other observations can be made about Bena tone (though these have yet to be quantified in any fashion). First, though the location of a High tone does not vary (for example in *libíhi* ‘tree’, High always occurs on the penultimate syllable), there does seem to be some variation in the pitch level of a High tone. This means that for a single speaker how high High tone is can vary quite a bit. Tone also interacts with intonation patterns. Thus, for example in a normal declarative sentence with falling intonation, High tones that occur earlier are higher than High tones occurring towards the end. The same holds true for Low (toneless) tones—they are higher at the beginning of a declarative sentence and lowest at the end.

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<sup>13</sup> A mora-based analysis is preferred here to one based on syllables, as a mora-based analysis is much simpler. An analysis based on syllables would necessitate the proposal of verbal tone classes, which would unnecessarily complicate the analysis. The crucial piece of evidence for this is verbs which have the APU tonal melody. See 2.3.4.3 for a discussion of this.

<sup>14</sup> In order to represent High falling tone, throughout this section High tone on long (and lengthened) vowels is represented as *́̀* (where the first mora of the syllable has a High tone diacritic and the second mora is marked Low). However throughout the remainder of the grammar, because all long High vowels are High falling (and there is no contrast, for example, between High falling and High-High), long (and lengthened) vowels with High tone are represented *́́*.

Major tonal patterns in Bena (described in terms of the position where the High tone falls) include penultimate (PU), antepenultimate (APU), stem-initial (SI), and pre-stem initial (PSI). There are a few very specific situations in which word-final (WF) tone is allowed. Tonal behavior can largely be divided into nominal tone and verbal tone, each of which is discussed in the sections which follow.

### 2.3.3 Nominal tone

Underlyingly, Bena nominal stems are either toneless or are assigned a single High tone. If a stem is toneless, tone surfaces on the noun class prefix. Therefore these nouns have the tone pattern PSI (pre-stem initial). Nominal stems may also have underlying tone. In these stems, one High tone is allowed per word. The High tone may fall on either the antepenultimate mora (known as APU) or the penultimate mora (PU). Location of High tone is consistent, regardless of frame. This means that a word pronounced in isolation has the same tone pattern as one that occurs in a sentence. Though tone is generally disallowed word-finally, the possessive clitic is High-toned, resulting in word-final (WF) tone. This section discusses each of these tone patterns.

#### 2.3.3.1 Nominal pre-stem initial (PSI)

If a nominal stem is toneless, High tone is assigned to the noun class prefix. Because the noun class prefix occurs immediately before the nominal stem, this type of pattern is known as pre-stem initial (or PSI). Figure 2. shows the pitch contour of *hideego* ‘chair’ which exhibits the PSI pattern:

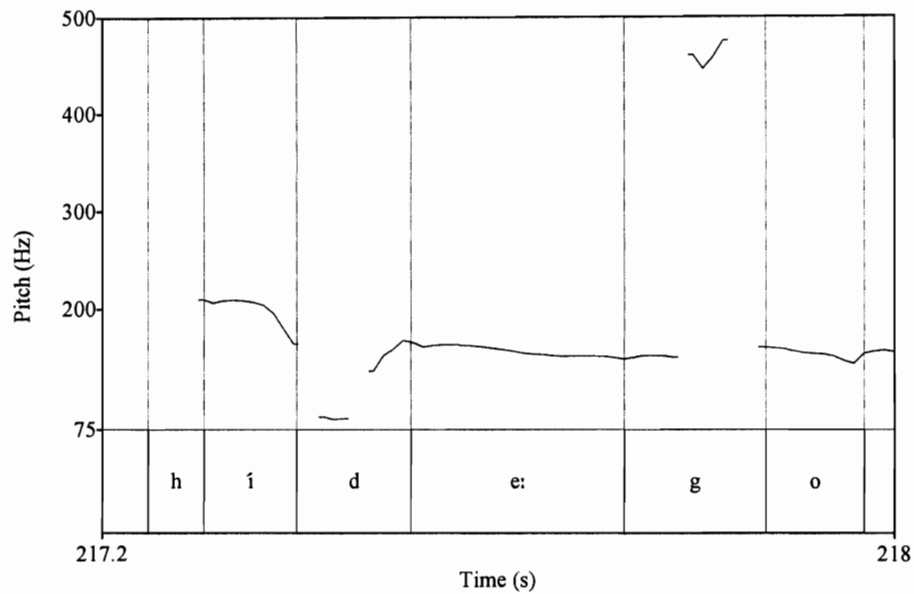


Figure 2.1 Nominal PSI tone: *hídeego* [híde:go] 'chair'

In nouns belonging to Classes 9 and 10 which do not have tone underlyingly and have no augment, tone surfaces on the noun class prefix (a syllabic nasal). This is one of the few situations in which nasals are moraic on the surface.<sup>15</sup> In the following example, *ńdzuhi* 'bees' has a High tone on the Class 10 noun class prefix *n-*:

<sup>15</sup> The other occurs when the noun class prefix for Classes 1, 3, and 18 is reduced from *mu-* to *ṁ-*, see Section 2.4.2.

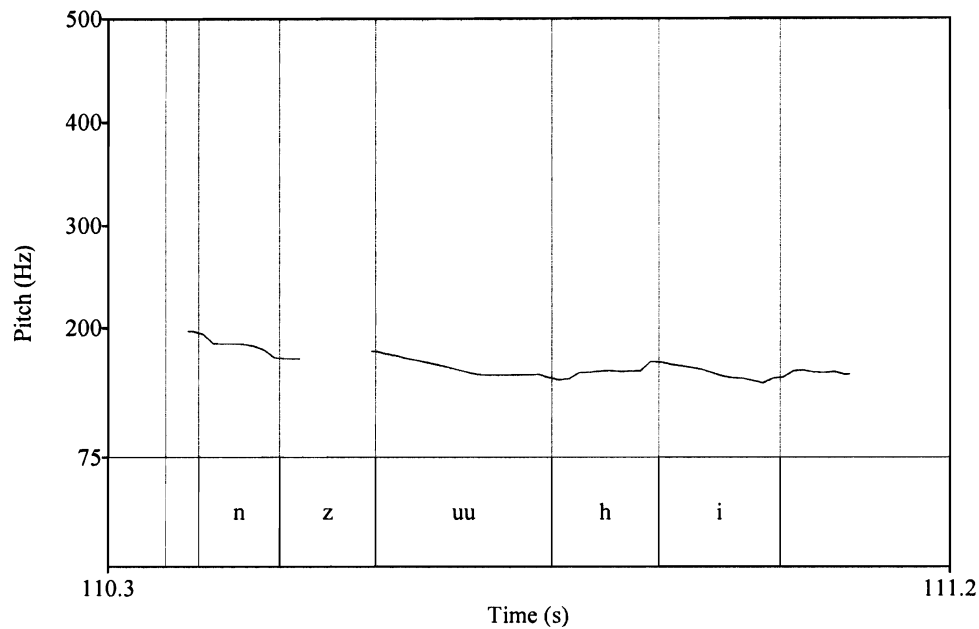


Figure 2.2 Nominal PSI tone: *ndzuuhi* [ndzu:hi] ‘bees’

Below are a number of examples of nouns which have the PSI tone pattern:

(47) <i>likaana</i>	‘egg’	<i>lisihiidza</i>	‘ear’
<i>ma:zebele</i>	‘corn’	<i>libaani</i>	‘small boat’
<i>li:deembwe</i>	‘elephant’	<i>lu:halafu</i>	‘ant’

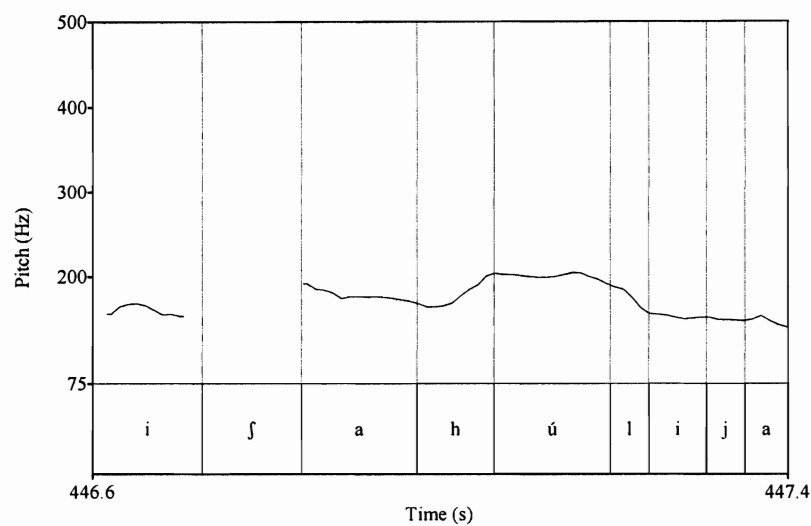
### 2.3.3.2 Nominal antepenultimate unit (APU) tone

In nominal stems that have underlying tone, one High tone is allowed per word.

The High tone may fall on either the antepenultimate mora (known as APU) or the penultimate mora (PU, discussed in the next section). There are two types of APU nouns.

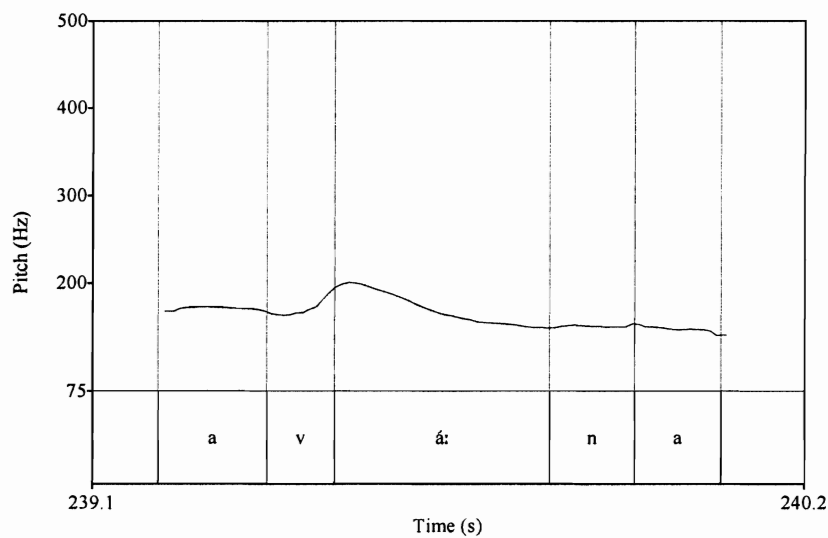
In the first type, antepenultimate mora is a short syllable which bears High tone, as in

Figure 2.3:



**Figure 2.3** Nominal APU tone: *ihyahúliya* 'food' [iʃahúlija]

In the second type of APU noun, the High tone falls on the first mora of a long (or lengthened) syllable, as in Figure 2.4:



**Figure 2.4** Nominal APU tone: *aváána* 'children' [avâna]



Below are several examples of nouns which exhibit the APU tone pattern.

(48) <i>likîng'a</i>	'roof'	<i>mafiîndza</i>	'ashes'
<i>mudiîmi</i>	'boy'	<i>máàma</i>	'older sibling'
<i>lubálali</i>	'savannah'	<i>livatávata</i>	'duck'
<i>malólelo</i>	'eyeglasses'	<i>lingádoto</i>	'bedbug'

### 2.3.3.3 Nominal penultimate unit (PU) tone

The final major tone pattern exhibited by Bena nouns is PU (penultimate), where the High tone falls on the penultimate mora of a word. Because Bena does not allow Low-High sequences in long syllables, there are no PU nouns where the High tone falls on the second mora of a long syllable. Therefore nouns exhibiting the PU pattern always have a short vowel in penultimate position, as in Figure 2.5:

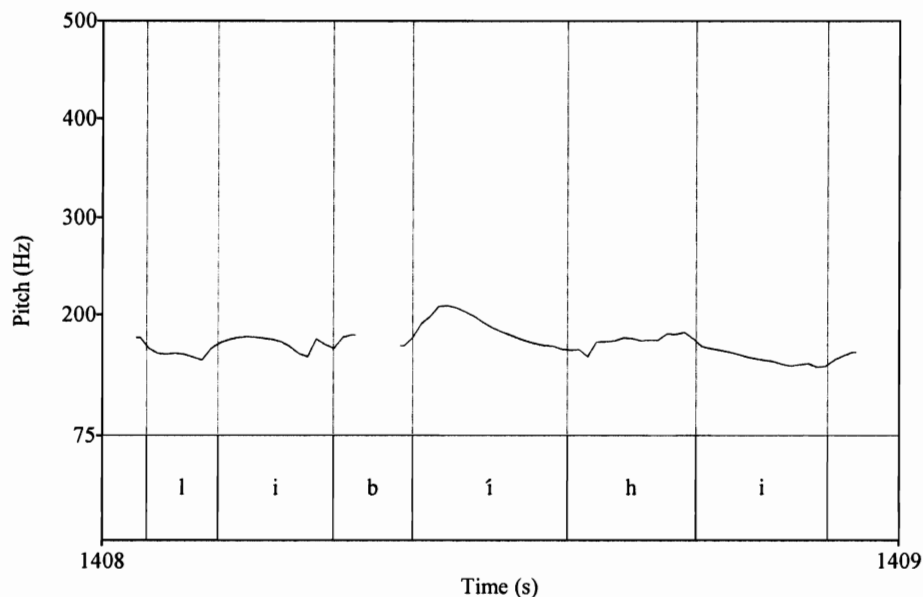


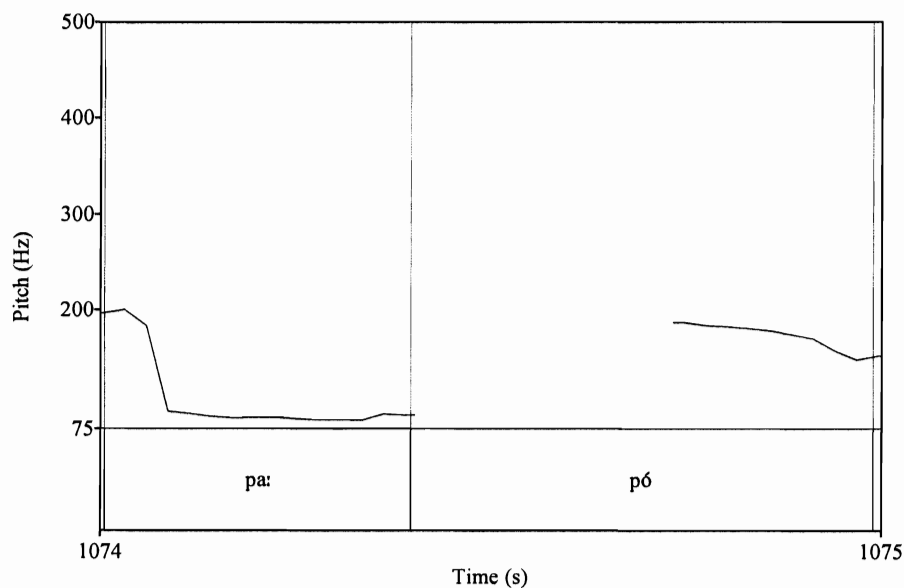
Figure 2.5 Nominal PU tone: *libhi* 'tree' [libhi]

(49) lists a number of Bena nouns which exhibit the PU tone pattern:

(49) <i>likóho</i>	‘lion’	<i>súde</i>	‘hare’
<i>mulómo</i>	‘tongue’	<i>ngúbi</i>	‘pig’
<i>liléme</i>	‘stomach’	<i>libihi</i>	‘tree’

#### 2.3.3.4 Nominal word-final (WF) tone

Though word-final High tone is generally disallowed in Bena, it does occur with mono-syllabic possessive clitics. (Possessive clitics are described in 4.2.1.3.) All possessive clitics are High-toned on the first syllable. Therefore use of possessive clitics which are monosyllabic (second and third person singular) results in word-final High tone. This is illustrated below:



**Figure 2.6 Nominal WF tone: *paapó* ‘your grandmother’ [pa:pó]**

Several examples of word-final High are given in (50):

- (50) a. *máàma* ‘older sibling’                      d. *maamé* ‘his/her older brother’  
       b. *páàpa* ‘grandmother’                      e. *paapó* ‘your (SG) grandmother’  
       c. *dáàda* ‘father’                                f. *daadó* ‘your (SG) father’

#### 2.3.4 Verbal tone

Verbal tone is more complex than nominal tone in Bena. All verbs are underlyingly toneless. Tense-aspect configurations have tone melodies which apply to inflected verbs. The situation is further complicated by object prefixes and negation, which interact with tone melodies in different ways. There are several different verbal tone patterns: pre-stem initial (PSI), stem-initial (SI), antepenultimate unit (APU), and penultimate (PU). Word-final (WF) tone is allowed in a few circumstances (involving either monosyllabic verb stems or derived verbs). The verbal stems *gona* ‘sleep’ and *geenda* ‘walk’ are used throughout this section to exemplify verbal tone melodies. Verbal tone melodies are summarized in the table below:<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> In Table 2.11, glosses are conflated into a single column in order to preserve space.

TENSE-ASPECT	EXAMPLE	EXAMPLE	GLOSS	TONE
infinitive	<i>húgona</i>	<i>hugéènda</i>	'to sleep/walk'	APU
P <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndigónile</i>	<i>ndigéèndile</i>	'I slept/walked'	SI
P <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndihaagoníle</i>	<i>ndihaageendíle</i>	'I slept/walked (recently)'	PU
P <sub>4</sub> perfective	<i>ndaagoníle</i>	<i>ndaageendíle</i>	'I slept/walked (long ago)'	PU
present perfective	<i>ndígona</i>	<i>ndigéènda</i>	'I sleep/walk'	APU
F <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndidzígoná</i>	<i>ndidzigéènda</i>	'I will sleep/walk (soon)'	APU
F <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndilágoná</i>	<i>ndilágeenda</i>	'I will sleep/walk (someday)'	PSI
P <sub>1</sub> progressive	<i>ndigóniige</i>	<i>ndigéèndiige</i>	'I was sleeping/walking (just now)'	SI
P <sub>2</sub> progressive	<i>ndihígona</i>	<i>ndihigéènda</i>	'I was sleeping/walking (earlier)'	APU
P <sub>3</sub> progressive	<i>ndihaagoníige</i>	<i>ndihaagendíige</i>	'I was sleeping/walking (recently)'	APU
P <sub>4</sub> progressive	<i>ndaagonága</i>	<i>ndaageendága</i>	'I was sleeping/walking (long ago)'	PU
P <sub>4</sub> habitual	<i>ndaagoníige</i>	<i>ndaagendíige</i>	'I used to sleep/walk'	APU
present persistive	<i>ndipígona</i>	<i>ndipigéènda</i>	'I am still sleeping/walking'	APU
narrative	<i>ndigonága</i>	<i>ndigeendága</i>	'and then I slept/walked'	PU
subjunctive	<i>ndigóne</i>	<i>ndigéènde</i>	'let me sleep/walk'	SI

Table 2.11 Verbal tone melodies

The following subsections discuss each tone pattern and the tense-aspect configurations which exhibit that pattern. This is followed by a discussion of tone patterns in verbs containing derivational extensions. Tone patterns are simplified in verbs containing object markers and in negated verbs; therefore each of these verb types are discussed separately in 2.3.4.5 and 2.3.4.8.

### 2.3.4.1 Verbal pre-stem initial (PSI) tone

For a number of tense-aspect configurations High tone appears on the mora immediately preceding the verbal stem (pre-stem initial). This pattern is illustrated in Figure 2.7:

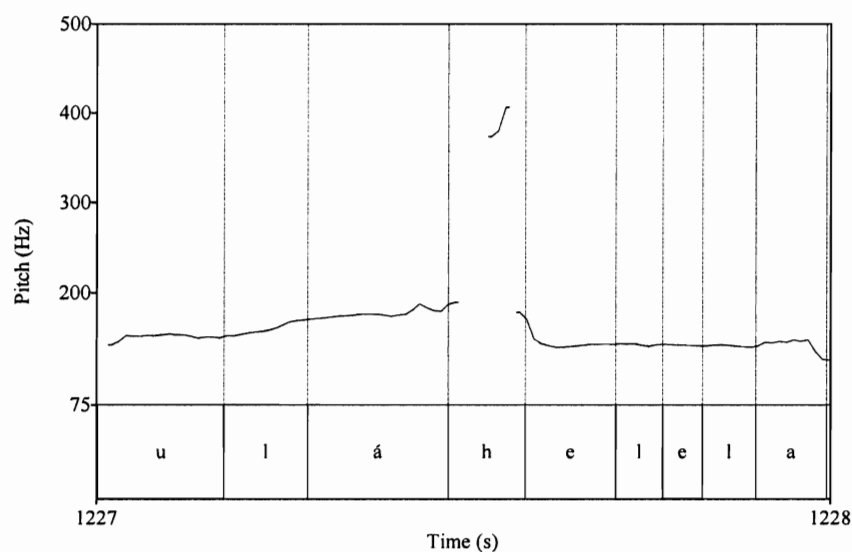


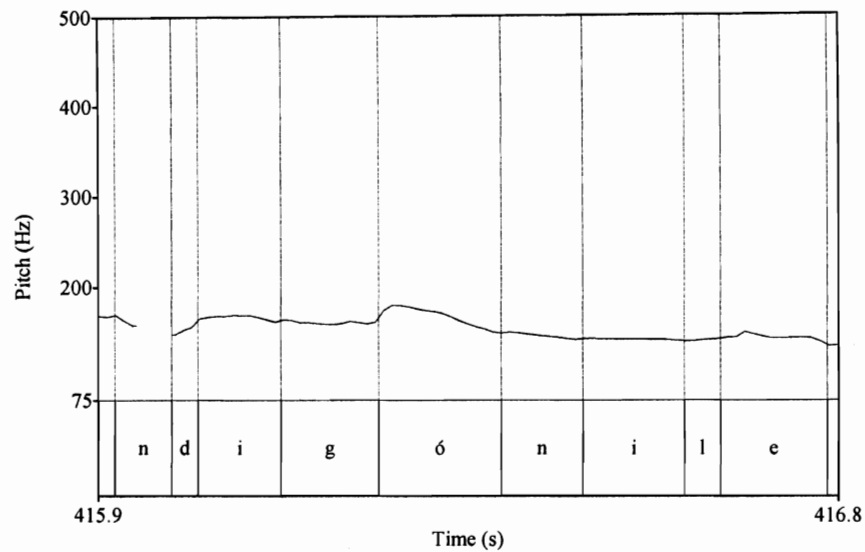
Figure 2.7 Verbal PSI tone: *uláhelela* ‘you will go (in a long time)’ [uláhelela]

The PSI melody is used only with the remote future perfective. (It is also used with certain tense-aspect configurations in verbs containing object prefixes; these are discussed in 2.3.4.7):

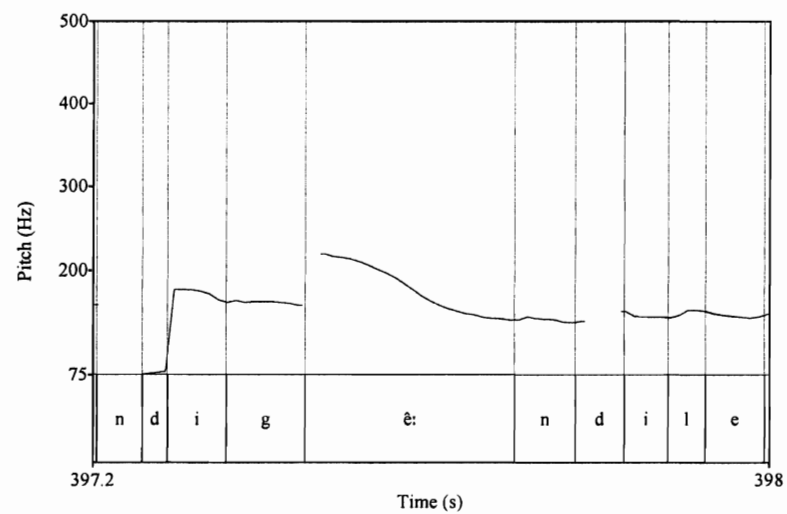
- (51) a. *ndilágoná* ‘I will sleep (in the remote future)’  
 b. *ndilágeenda* ‘I will walk (in the remote future)’

### 2.3.4.2 Verbal stem initial (SI) tone

In the stem-initial (SI) tone melody, High tone occurs on the first mora of a verbal stem:



**Figure 2.8** Verbal SI tone: ndigónile 'I slept' [ndigónile]



**Figure 2.9** Verbal SI tone: ndigéëndile 'I walked' [ndigéëndile]

Verbal forms which use the SI melody include the today past (P<sub>2</sub>) perfective (51a-b), the immediate past (P<sub>1</sub>) progressive (c-d), and the subjunctive (e-f):

- (52) a. *ndigónile* 'I slept'  
 b. *ndigééndile* 'I walked'  
 c. *ndigóniige* 'I was sleeping'  
 d. *ndigééendiige* 'I was walking'  
 e. *ndigóne* 'let me sleep'  
 f. *ndigééende* 'let me walk'

#### 2.3.4.3 Verbal antepenultimate unit (APU) tone

In the APU tone melody, High tone occurs on the antepenultimate mora of a word. This is exemplified in Figure 2.10:

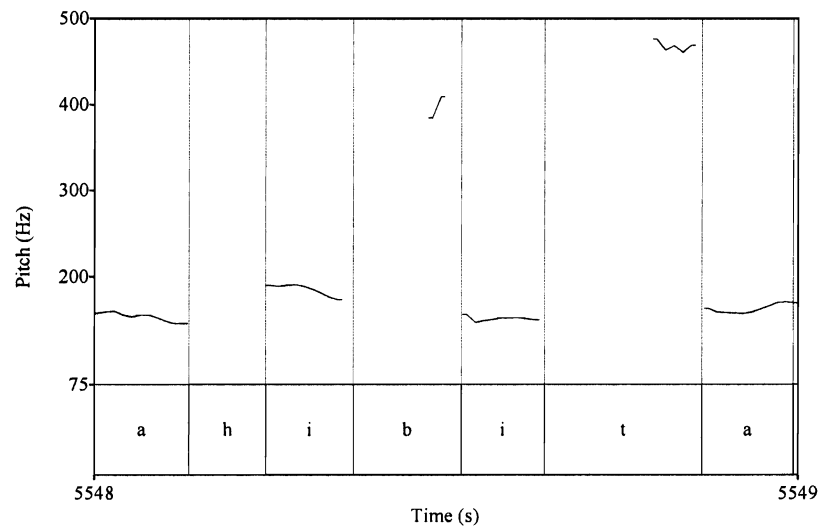


Figure 2.10 Verbal APU tone: *ahlbíta* 's/he was going (earlier)' [ahfbiṭa]

The APU melody is used with infinitival forms (53a) and (f), the present perfective (b) and (g), the near future perfective (c) and (h), the today past progressive (d) and (i), the recent past progressive (e) and (j), the remote past habitual (f) and (k), and the present persistive (g) and (l).

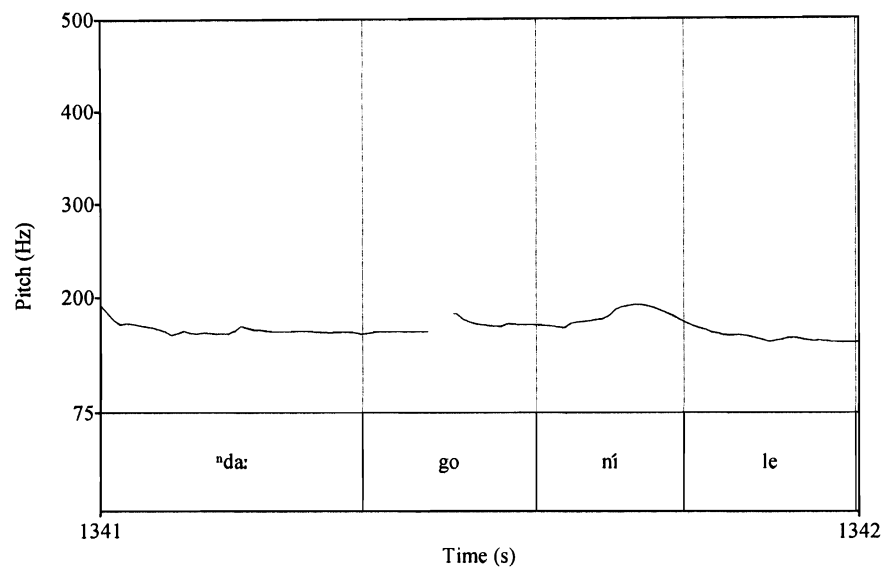
(53) a.	<i>húgona</i>	‘to sleep’	f.	<i>hugéènda</i>	‘to walk’
b.	<i>ndígona</i>	‘I sleep’	g.	<i>ndigéènda</i>	‘I walk’
c.	<i>ndidzígona</i>	‘I will sleep (soon)’	h.	<i>ndidzigéènda</i>	‘I will walk (soon)’
d.	<i>ndihígona</i>	‘I was sleeping (earlier)’	i.	<i>ndihigéènda</i>	‘I was walking (earlier)’
e.	<i>ndihaagoniige</i>	‘I was sleeping (recently)’	j.	<i>ndihaagendiige</i>	‘I was walking (recently)’
f.	<i>ndaagoniige</i>	‘I used to sleep’	k.	<i>ndaagoniige</i>	‘I used to walk’
g.	<i>ndipígona</i>	‘I am still sleeping’	l.	<i>ndipigéènda</i>	‘I am still walking’

Verbs that contain the APU melody provide crucial evidence for a mora-based analysis of tone (rather than an analysis based on syllables). This evidence can be seen when verbal forms containing only short vowels (such as *gona* ‘sleep’) are compared with those containing a long or lengthened vowel (exemplified by *geenda* ‘walk’). Consider, for example, the present perfective forms of each of the two exemplar verbs: *ndígona* ‘I sleep’ and *ndigéènda* ‘I walk’. For *ndígona* a syllable-based approach would place the High tone on the pre-stem initial syllable (in this case, the antepenultimate syllable). For *ndigéènda* High occurs on the stem-initial syllable (or penultimate syllable) in a syllable-based approach. Such an analysis would then necessitate assigning verbs to tone classes—one group of verbs would pattern like *gona*, the other like *geenda*. A mora-based approach allows both verbs to be analyzed in the same way—High tone always falls on the antepenultimate mora.



### 2.3.4.4 Verbal penultimate unit (PU) tone

The penultimate (PU) verbal melody places a High tone on the penultimate mora of a verb:



**Figure 2.11** Verbal PU tone: *ndaagonile* ‘I slept (long ago)’ [ʔda:gonile]

This melody is used in the recent past (P<sub>3</sub>) perfective (53a) and (e), remote past (P<sub>4</sub>) perfective (b) and (f), remote past (P<sub>4</sub>) progressive (c) and (g), and narrative forms (d) and (h):

- |         |                     |                             |    |                       |                            |
|---------|---------------------|-----------------------------|----|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| (54) a. | <i>ndihaagonile</i> | ‘I slept (recently)’        | e. | <i>ndihaageendile</i> | ‘I walked (recently)’      |
| b.      | <i>ndaagonile</i>   | ‘I slept (long ago)’        | f. | <i>ndaageendile</i>   | ‘I walked (long ago)’      |
| c.      | <i>ndaagonága</i>   | ‘I was sleeping (long ago)’ | g. | <i>ndaageendága</i>   | ‘I was walking (long ago)’ |
| d.      | <i>ndigonága</i>    | ‘and then I slept’          | h. | <i>ndigeendága</i>    | ‘and then I walked’        |

#### 2.3.4.5 Verbal word-final (WF) tone

Word-final High tone is normally disallowed in Bena. However there are a few situations when High tone is allowed word finally. Nominal word-final tone was described in 2.3.3.4. Verbal word-final tone is also possible in a few situations. The first of these (described here) involves verbs with monosyllabic stems. The second situation in which word-final High is possible is in certain tense-aspect configurations of verbs containing derivational extensions. This is described in the next section.

Tone melodies in verbs containing monosyllabic stems are largely identical to those of other verbs. However there are two situations in which tone melodies of monosyllabic stems differ. The first of these involves tense-aspect configurations that normally have the PU pattern and contain the final vowel *-ile* (the recent past P<sub>3</sub> perfective and remote past P<sub>4</sub> perfective). In tense-aspect configurations that have the PU pattern, High tone falls on the first mora of *-ile*. However, monosyllabic verbs do not use the final vowel *-ile*. Instead, they use *-e*. Therefore tone shifts to word-final position. (55) compares forms of *gona* ‘sleep’ with those that use the monosyllabic stem *fwa* ‘die’:

- (55) a. *ahaagonile* ‘s/he slept (recently)’ PU      c. *ahaafwé* ‘s/he died (recently)’ WF  
       b. *ndaagonile* ‘s/he slept (long ago)’ PU      d. *aafwé* ‘s/he died (long ago)’ WF

The second situation in which word-final tone can arise is in the subjunctive form of monosyllabic verbs. Normally in the subjunctive High tone falls on the initial mora of the stem. In a verb with a monosyllabic stem, the stem-initial mora and word-final mora are

the same. Therefore this results in word final High. (56) compares the subjunctive of the heterosyllabic verb *gona* ‘sleep’ with that of the monosyllabic verb *fwa* ‘die’:

- (56) a. *ndigóne* ‘let me sleep’                      b. *ndifwé* ‘let me die’

Word-final High can also arise in some tense-aspect configurations of verbs containing derivational extensions. This is discussed (along with other tonal melodies of derived verbs) in the next section.

#### 2.3.4.6 Verbal tone and derivational extensions

Tone patterns differently in verbs containing derivational extensions.<sup>17</sup> All derivational extensions affect verbal tone melodies in the same way; therefore this section uses the verb *diindúla* ‘open’ (derived with the transitive separative extension *-ul* from *díinda* ‘close’) to exemplify tone melodies in derived verbs.

Tense-aspect configurations which have the SI and PSI tone melodies in underived forms remain SI and PSI, respectively, in derived forms:

- (57) a. *ndidíndiige* ‘I was closing’                      c. *ndidínduliige* ‘I was opening’  
       b. *ndiládiinda* ‘I will close’                      d. *ndiládiindula* ‘I will open’

With one exception, tense-aspect configurations which have the APU tonal melody in underived forms place High tone on the penultimate mora (PU) in derived forms:

- (58) a. *hudiinda* ‘to close’                      c. *hudiindúla* ‘to open’  
       b. *ndipidiinda* ‘I am still closing’                      d. *ndipidiindúla* ‘I am still opening’

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<sup>17</sup> Derivational extensions are suffixes that either change verbal valence or change the meaning of a verb. They are discussed in detail in 5.3.

The recent past (P<sub>3</sub>) progressive has the APU tonal melody. If derived verbs in the recent past progressive were to take the PU tonal melody, this would result in a long syllable with Low-High tone. Long syllables can only take High tone on the initial mora; therefore the recent past progressive has APU (rather than PU) tone in derived verbs:

- (59) a. *ndihaadindîge* 'I was closing'  
 b. \**ndihaadinduliîge*  
 c. *ndihaadindulîge* 'I was opening'

Tense-aspect configurations which exhibit the PU tone melody in underived forms show a split in derived forms. Derived verbs with tense-aspect configurations which have the final vowel *-ile* (the recent past P<sub>3</sub> perfective and remote past P<sub>4</sub> perfective) have High tone on the word final mora.

- (60) a. *ndihaadiindile* 'I closed (recently)' c. *ndihaadiindwé* 'I opened (recently)'  
 b. *ndaadiindile* 'I closed (long ago)' d. *ndihaadiindwé* 'I opened (long ago)'

Derived verbs with tense-aspect configurations that have the final vowel *-a* (the remote past P<sub>4</sub> progressive and the narrative) remain PU:

- (61) a. *ndaagonága* 'I was closing (long ago)' c. *ndaadindulága* 'I was opening (long ago)'  
 b. *ndidiindága* 'and then I closed' d. *ndidiindulága* 'and then I opened'

Table 2.12 uses the underived verb *dîinda* 'close' and the derived verb *diindûla* 'open' to summarize tone melodies in underived and derived verbs:

TENSE-ASPECT	UNDERIVED		DERIVED	
	EXAMPLE	TONE	EXAMPLE	TONE
infinitive	<i>hudiinda</i>	APU	<i>hudiindúla</i>	PU
P <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndidiindile</i>	SI	<i>ndidiindwe</i>	SI
P <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndihaadiindile</i>	PU	<i>ndihaadiindwé</i>	WF
P <sub>4</sub> perfective	<i>ndaadiindile</i>	PU	<i>ndaadiindwé</i>	WF
present perfective	<i>ndidiinda</i>	APU	<i>ndidiindúla</i>	PU
F <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndidzidiinda</i>	APU	<i>ndidzidiindúla</i>	PU
F <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndiládiinda</i>	PSI	<i>ndiládiindula</i>	PSI
P <sub>1</sub> progressive	<i>ndidiindiige</i>	SI	<i>ndidiinduliige</i>	SI
P <sub>3</sub> progressive	<i>ndihaadindiige</i>	APU	<i>ndihaadinduliige</i>	APU
P <sub>4</sub> progressive	<i>ndaadiindága</i>	PU	<i>ndaadindulága</i>	PU
P <sub>4</sub> habitual	<i>ndaadindiige</i>	APU	<i>ndadinduliige</i>	APU
present persistive	<i>ndipidiinda</i>	APU	<i>ndipidiindúla</i>	PU
narrative	<i>ndidiindága</i>	PU	<i>ndidindulága</i>	PU
subjunctive	<i>ndidiinde</i>	SI	<i>ndidiindwe</i>	SI

Table 2.12 Comparison of tone melodies in underived and derived verbs

#### 2.3.4.7 Verbal tone and object markers

Tonal melodies in verbal forms containing object markers are largely the same as those without object markers. The only exception to this is the stem-initial (SI) pattern. Tense-aspect configurations that are SI without object markers have the tonal melody PSI (pre-stem-initial) with the object marker. Another way of generalizing this is to say that these tense-aspect configurations place the High tone on the first mora of the macro-

stem.<sup>18</sup> Thus in forms without an object marker the tonal melody is stem-initial; with an object marker the tonal melody is pre-stem-initial. This is exemplified in (62):

- |         |                      |                  |    |                     |                         |
|---------|----------------------|------------------|----|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (62) a. | <i>ndigónile</i>     | 'I slept'        | d. | <i>ndimútovile</i>  | 'I hit him/her'         |
|         | b. <i>ndigóniige</i> | 'I was sleeping' | e. | <i>ndimúтовиige</i> | 'I was hitting him/her' |
|         | c. <i>ndigóne</i>    | 'let me sleep'   | f. | <i>ndimútove</i>    | 'let me hit him/her'    |

All other forms retain the same verbal tone melody when prefixed with an object marker. Tense-aspect configurations for verbs containing object markers are summarized in Table 2.13, which compares the tone melody for a verb without an object marker (*tova*) with a verb containing a Class 1 object marker (*mútova* 'hit him/her').

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<sup>18</sup> The macrostem, as discussed in 5.1 is composed of a verbal stem plus any object markers.

TENSE-ASPECT	NO OBJECT MARKER		OBJECT MARKER	
	EXAMPLE	TONE	EXAMPLE	TONE
infinitive	<i>húgona</i>	APU	<i>humútova</i>	APU
P <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndigónile</i>	SI	<i>ndimútovile</i>	PSI
P <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndihaagonile</i>	PU	<i>ndihaamutovíle</i>	PU
P <sub>4</sub> perfective	<i>ndaagoníle</i>	PU	<i>ndaamutovíle</i>	PU
present perfective	<i>ndígona</i>	APU	<i>ndihumútova</i>	APU
F <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndidzígona</i>	APU	<i>ndidzimútova</i>	APU
F <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndilágona</i>	PSI	<i>ndilamútova</i>	PSI
P <sub>1</sub> progressive	<i>ndigóniige</i>	SI	<i>ndimútoviige</i>	PSI
P <sub>3</sub> progressive	<i>ndihaagonîge</i>	APU	<i>ndihaamutovîge</i>	APU
P <sub>4</sub> progressive	<i>ndaagonága</i>	PU	<i>ndaamutovága</i>	PU
P <sub>4</sub> habitual	<i>ndaagonîge</i>	APU	<i>ndaamutovîge</i>	APU
present persistive	<i>ndipígona</i>	APU	<i>ndipihumútova</i>	APU
narrative	<i>ndigonága</i>	PU	<i>ndimutovága</i>	PU
subjunctive	<i>ndigóne</i>	SI	<i>ndimútove</i>	PSI

Table 2.13 Verbal tone melodies for verbs with and without object markers

#### 2.3.4.8 Verbal tone and negation

Tonal melodies of negated verb forms are largely the same as those of non-negated forms. The exception to this is SI verbs. The today past (P<sub>2</sub>) perfective has SI tone in its non-negated form. When it is negated, High tone shifts to the penultimate mora:

- (63) a. *ndigónile* 'I slept'                      c. *sindigoníle* 'I didn't sleep'  
       b. *ndigèendile* 'I walked'                      d. *sindigeendíle* 'I didn't walk'

The immediate past (P<sub>1</sub>) progressive also has stem-initial tone in its non-negated form.

When the immediate past progressive is negated, High tone shifts to the antepenultimate mora.

- (64) a. *ndigóniige* ‘I was sleeping’ c. *sindigonîge* ‘I wasn’t sleeping’  
 b. *ndigéèndiige* ‘I was walking’ d. *sindigeèndîge* ‘I wasn’t walking’

All other forms maintain the same verbal tone melody in their negated forms. Thus APU, PSI, and PU verbs remain APU, PSI, and PU, respectively, when negated. Tone melodies for negated verbs are summarized in Table 2.14.

TENSE-ASPECT	NON-NEGATED		NEGATED	
	EXAMPLE	TONE	EXAMPLE	TONE
P <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndigónile</i>	SI	<i>sindigonîle</i>	PU
P <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndihaagonîle</i>	PU	<i>sindihaagonîle</i>	PU
P <sub>4</sub> perfective	<i>ndaagonîle</i>	PU	<i>sindaagonîle</i>	PU
present perfective	<i>ndígona</i>	APU	<i>sindígona</i>	APU
F <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndidzígona</i>	APU	<i>sindidzígona</i>	APU
F <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndilágona</i>	PSI	<i>sindilágona</i>	PSI
P <sub>1</sub> progressive	<i>ndigóniige</i>	SI	<i>sindigonîge</i>	APU
P <sub>2</sub> progressive	<i>ndihígona</i>	APU	<i>sindihígona</i>	APU
P <sub>3</sub> progressive	<i>ndihaagonîge</i>	APU	<i>sindihaagonîge</i>	APU
P <sub>4</sub> progressive	<i>ndaagonága</i>	PU	<i>sindaagonága</i>	PU
P <sub>4</sub> habitual	<i>ndaagonîge</i>	APU	<i>sindaagonîge</i>	APU
narrative	<i>ndigonága</i>	PU	<i>sindigonága</i>	PU

Table 2.14 Verbal tone melodies comparing non-negated and negated forms



When a derived verb is negated, the impact on verbal tone melodies is the same as that described in 2.3.4.5. Negated underived verbs that have the PSI tone melody are also PSI when they have a derivational extension. Negated verbs that are APU when they are underived exhibit the PU pattern when they are derived, and negated underived verbs that have the PU melody have word final High in derived forms. Forms of negated derived verbs are summarized in Table 2.15:

TENSE-ASPECT	NEGATED DERIVED		NEGATED UNDERIVED	
	EXAMPLE	TONE	EXAMPLE	TONE
P <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>sindidiindile</i>	PU	<i>sindidiindwé</i>	WF
P <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>sindihaadiindile</i>	PU	<i>sindihaadiindwé</i>	WF
P <sub>4</sub> perfective	<i>sindaadiindile</i>	PU	<i>sindaadiindwé</i>	WF
present perfective	<i>sindidiinda</i>	APU	<i>sindidiindúla</i>	PU
F <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>sindidzidiinda</i>	APU	<i>sindidzidiindúla</i>	PU
F <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>sindiládiinda</i>	PSI	<i>sindiládiindula</i>	PSI
P <sub>1</sub> progressive	<i>sindidindiŋge</i>	APU	<i>sindidindulŋge</i>	APU
P <sub>2</sub> progressive	<i>sindihidiinda</i>	APU	<i>sindihidiindúla</i>	PU
P <sub>3</sub> progressive	<i>sindihaadindiŋge</i>	APU	<i>sindihaadindulŋge</i>	APU
P <sub>4</sub> progressive	<i>sindaadiindága</i>	PU	<i>sindaadindulága</i>	PU
P <sub>4</sub> habitual	<i>sindaadindiŋge</i>	APU	<i>sindaadindulŋge</i>	APU
narrative	<i>sindigonága</i>	PU	<i>sindidindulága</i>	PU

Table 2.15 Comparison of tone melodies in negated underived and derived verbs

### 2.3.5 Tone as a sociolinguistic variable

An explanation proposed in 2.3.1 for the discrepancies among Nurse's (1979), Eaton's (2007), and Odden's (1988) analyses of Bena tone is dialectal variation. Results

of the tonal analysis portion of the dialect survey are still preliminary, but they indicate that there is some variation in tone across Bena dialects. For example, *lingodofu* ‘frog’ had three different tone patterns: PSI, APU, and PU. Most nouns, however, had the same tone pattern in each dialect. For those nouns which did exhibit tonal variation dialectally, variation existed on a word-to-word basis. It was not the case, for example, that all PSI nouns in one dialect had the pattern APU in another. In order to determine how much tonal variation there is cross-dialectally in Bena, nouns in a 150 word list (collected during the dialect survey) were coded for tone patterns. One village per dialect was selected as an exemplar. Table 2.16 presents tabulated results for nominal tone patterns in each dialect:

DIALECT	PSI	APU	PU	APU/PSI <sup>19</sup>
Nyikolwe	16.78%	44.30%	23.49%	14.77%
Mavemba	23.81%	49.21%	17.46%	9.52%
Twangabita	15.89%	37.09%	33.11%	13.25%
Sovi	19.18%	45.21%	23.29%	12.33%
Maswamu	19.73%	38.78%	16.33%	22.45%
Ngaveta	20.73%	35.37%	29.88%	14.02%

Table 2.16 Percentage of words with each nominal tone pattern, by dialect

Differences in verbal tone patterns dialectally were also found. Using data from the phrase list (collected during the sociolinguistic survey), Table 2.17 shows variation in tone patterns for the today (P<sub>2</sub>) past perfective and the present perfective forms.

<sup>19</sup> Ambiguous between APU and PSI tone patterns.

DIALECT	P <sub>2</sub> PERFECTIVE 's/he has obtained'	TONE	PRESENT PERFECTIVE 's/he buys'	TONE
Nyikolwe	<i>aapatíle</i>	PU	<i>iigútsa</i>	SI/PU
Mavemba	<i>aapátíle</i>	APU/SI	<i>iigútsa</i>	SI/PU
Twangabita	<i>aapatíle</i>	PU	<i>íigútsa</i>	PSI
Sovi	<i>aapatíle</i>	PU	<i>íigútsa</i>	PSI
Maswamu	<i>aapatíle</i>	PU	<i>iigútsa</i>	SI/PU
Ngaveta	<i>aapatíle</i>	PU	<i>iigútsa</i>	SI/PU

Table 2.17 Dialectal variation in verbal tone melodies

A comprehensive analysis of dialectal tone patterns is beyond the scope of this study, however preliminary results indicate that this is an area worth further investigation.

As with other aspects of Bena, tone is being impacted as a result of Swahili influence. (The increasing impact of Swahili on Bena and other languages in Tanzania is discussed in 1.5.1 and 1.5.2.) Swahili has a stress-based system; Bena's system is tonal (though it does have a reduced tonal system when compared with many other Bantu languages). I observed during the course of this research that pitch distinctions between High and Low tone were greater in older speakers than in younger speakers. (Older speakers seemed to have higher Highs and lower Lows than younger speakers.) At this point this observation remains purely impressionistic, but would be an interesting area to pursue further as it may shed light on the process by which a language transitions from a tone-based system to a stress-based one.

## 2.4 Morphophonemic processes

### 2.4.1 Glide formation

Bena does not allow sequences of two non-identical vowels. One of the ways in which such sequences are resolved is through Glide formation. When a high vowel is followed by a non-identical vowel, the first vowel becomes a glide. Glide formation is accompanied by compensatory lengthening of the following vowel (see 2.1.3.3.1). This means that when the high front vowel /i/ is followed by /a/, /e/, /o/, or /u/, it becomes the glide /j/. With the high back vowel /u/, glide formation applies only when /u/ is followed by a non-rounded vowel. Thus glide formation does not apply when /u/ is followed by /u/ or /o/. When /u/ is followed by /a/, /e/, or /i/, it glides to /w/. This process is illustrated by the examples below:

- (65) a. u+a    mu-ana    →    *mwáána*    ‘child’  
                  CL1-child                    [mwá:na]
- b. u+e    hu-eluha    →    *hweelúha*    ‘to climb’  
                  CL15-climb                    [hwe:lúha]
- c. u+i    hu-ima    →    *hwíima*    ‘to stand’  
                  CL15-stand                    [hwí:ma]
- d. i+a    mi-aha    →    *myááha*    ‘years’  
                  CL4-year                        [mjá:ha]
- e. i+e    fi-ene    →    *fyééne*    ‘themselves (CL8)’  
                  CL8-self                        [fjé:ne]

- f. i+o    fi-onda    →    *fyóónda*    ‘all (CL8)’  
                  CL8-all                    [fjó:ˈnda]
- g. i+u    li-uma    →    *lyúúma*    ‘iron’  
                  CL5-iron                    [ljú:ma]

There is an exception to the glide formation rule. When the high front vowel /i/ is preceded by a prenasalized consonant, glide formation is blocked because Bena does not allow prenasalized consonant-glide sequences. Instead, the two vowels coalesce. This is illustrated in (66) below:

- (66)    ndi-adz-ile    →    *ndáádzile*    ‘I have come’  
                  2SG-come-FV                    [ˈndâ:tsile]

#### 2.4.2 *mu*- reduction

The syllable *mu* can be optionally reduced to a syllabic nasal [ɱ]. This occurs in the noun class prefixes for Classes 1, 3, and 18 and the Class 1 (third person singular) object prefix. *Mu* reduction is illustrated below:

- (67) a. *mudála*            [mudála]            ~    [ɱdála]            ‘woman’  
       b. *múgaanga*        [múga:ᵑga]        ~    [ɱga:ᵑga]        ‘sand’  
       c. *ndihumútova*    [ˈdihumúᵗova]    ~    [ˈdihurɱᵗova]    ‘I am hitting him/her’

#### 2.4.3 Vowel harmony

Bena, like many other Bantu languages, exhibits a system of vowel height harmony. This is particularly evident in verbal derivational extensions (applicative,

stative, and causative).<sup>20</sup> When the final vowel of the stem is mid (/e/ or /o/), the suffix vowel lowers to [-e]. When the final vowel in the stem is high or low (/i/, /u/, or /a/), the suffixal vowel remains high ([i]). Thus, for example, the applicative suffix /-il/ is [-el] when the final stem vowel is /e/ or /o/ and [-il] elsewhere:

- (68) a. seeduh-il-a → *seduhíla* 'turn to'  
           turn-APPL-FV           [se:duhíla]
- b. teleh-il-a → *telehéla* 'cook for'  
           cook-APPL-FV           [t<sup>h</sup>elehéla]
- c. long-il-a → *loongéla* 'tell to'  
           tell-APPL-FV           [lo:ŋgéla]
- d. dzind-il-a → *dziindíla* 'wait for'  
           wait-APPL-FV           [tsi:ndíla]
- e. taag-il-a → *taagíla* 'throw to'  
           throw-APPL-FV           [t<sup>h</sup>a:gíla]

The stative suffix /-ih/ also undergoes vowel height harmony ([-eh] when the stem vowel is mid; [-ih] when the stem vowel is high or low):

- (69) a. deeny-ih-a → *deenyéha* 'be broken'  
           break-STAT-FV           [de:néha]
- b. won-ih-a → *wonéha* 'be visible'  
           see-STAT-FV           [wonéha]

<sup>20</sup> Derivational extensions are suffixes that either change verbal valence or change the meaning of a verb. They are discussed in detail in 5.3.

- c. anang-ih-a → *anaangtha* ‘be destroyed’  
 anang-STAT-FV [ana:<sup>ɰ</sup>giha]

Vowel harmony also applies with the causative suffix ([-idz] when the stem vowel is high or low; [-edz] when the stem vowel is mid):

- (70) a. mem-idz-a → *memédza* ‘fill (transitive)’  
 fill-CAUS-FV [memétsa]
- b. hol-idz-a → *holédza* ‘midwife (v), aid in giving birth’  
 give.birth-CAUS-FV [holétsa]
- c. nyil-idz-a → *nyilidza* ‘chase’  
 run-CAUS-FV [ɲilítsa]
- d. vang-idz-a → *vaangídza* ‘start (transitive)’  
 begin-CAUS-FV [va:<sup>ɰ</sup>gítsa]

When multiple derivational suffixes occur on a single verb, all derivational suffixes harmonize with the final stem vowel:

- (71) a. tov-el-idz-a → *tovelédza* ‘cause (someone else) to fight’  
 fight-APPL-CAUS-FV [t<sup>h</sup>ovelétsa]
- b. pilim-il-idz-a → *pilimilidza* ‘to make something circle  
 (something else)’  
 go.around-APPL-CAUS-FV [p<sup>h</sup>ilimilítsa]

The separative suffixes *-ul* and *-uh* (see 5.3.6) also exhibit vowel height harmony, however the harmony is slightly different. When the final vowel of the verbal stem is a

mid back vowel /o/, the vowel of the suffix lowers to /o/. (Unlike the applicative, causative, and stative suffixes, the mid front vowel /e/ does not trigger vowel height harmony with the separative suffixes.) Several examples of this process are given below:

- (72) a. wop-ul-a → *wopóla* ‘undress, untie’  
           tie-SEP-FV           [wop<sup>h</sup>óla]
- b. meny-uh-a → *menyúha* ‘be broken’  
           break-SEP-FV       [meɲúha]
- c. fiham-ul-a → *fihamúla* ‘expose’  
           hide-SEP-FV       [fihamúla]

Another type of vowel harmony primarily affects noun class augments. Noun class augments harmonize with the vowel in the noun class prefix:



CLASS	AUGMENT	PREFIX	EXAMPLE	EXAMPLE GLOSS
1	<i>u-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mudiimi</i>	‘boy’
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>va-</i>	<i>vadiimi</i>	‘boys’
3	<i>u-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>múkoga</i>	‘river’
4	<i>i-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>míkoga</i>	‘rivers’
5	<i>i-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>lídeembwe</i>	‘elephant’
6	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mádeembwe</i>	‘elephants’
7	<i>i-</i>	<i>hi-</i>	<i>hídeego</i>	‘chair’
8	<i>i-</i>	<i>fí-</i>	<i>fídeego</i>	‘chairs’
9	<i>i-</i>	<i>N-</i>	<i>ndiilo</i>	‘basket’
10	<i>i-</i>	<i>N-</i>	<i>ndiilo</i>	‘baskets’
11	<i>u-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lutaango</i>	‘help’
12	<i>a-</i>	<i>ha-</i>	<i>hádela</i>	‘small root’
13	<i>u-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>túdela</i>	‘small roots’
14	<i>u-</i>	<i>wu-</i>	<i>wútine</i>	‘flour’
15	<i>u-</i>	<i>hu-</i>	<i>hútova</i>	‘hitting’
16	<i>a-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pamúkoga</i>	‘at the river’
17	<i>u-</i>	<i>hu-</i>	<i>humúkoga</i>	‘at the river’
18	<i>u-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mumúkoga</i>	‘in the river’
20	<i>u-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gudeembwe</i>	‘big elephant’

Table 2.18 Bena augments and noun class prefixes

There are three exceptions to the use of vowel harmony in nominal augments. The first involves Class 9/10 nouns. The noun class prefix for these nouns is /N-/, thus there is no vowel in the prefix for the augment to harmonize with. The augment used for 9/10 nouns is /i-/.

The second exception involves anthropomorphized animals in folktales. In these cases, semantics trump phonology: when animals occur in folk tales, the Class 1/2 augments are used:

- (73) *Aali*            *pwaali*            *ulífifi*            *nusungúla*  
aa-li            pa-aa-li            u-li-fifi            na=u-sungula  
PAST-COP   CL16-PAST-COP   AUG-CL5-hyena   and=AUG-hare  
‘Once upon a time there was a hyena and a hare.’  
(08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*: line 001)
- (74) *Uhingalúmeende* *aasahága*            *uhumúliya*            *úndzogolo*  
u-hingalumende   aa-sah-ag-a            u-hu-mu-liy-a            u-ndzogolo  
AUG-mongoose   PAST-want-NARR-FV   AUG-CL15-CL1.OBJ-eat-FV   AUG-rooster  
‘The mongoose wanted to eat the rooster.’  
(08Sept17d, *The Rooster and the Mongoose*: line 002)

If the animals in (73) and (74) were to occur in a context other than a folktale, they would be *ilífifi*, *isungúla*, *ihingalúmeende*, and *índzogolo* (‘hyena’, ‘hare’, ‘mongoose’, and ‘rooster’, respectively). However, because these animals have been anthropomorphized, they use the augment *u-* which is used for human Class 1 nouns, resulting in *ulífifi*, *usungúla*, *uhingalúmeende*, and *úndzogolo*.

Finally, vowel harmony does not apply to augments which are used with personal pronouns. Like anthropomorphized animals, personal pronouns (except for third person plural) use the augment corresponding to human Class 1 nouns. The third person plural pronoun uses the augment corresponding to human Class 2 nouns. This is summarized in the table below (augments are given in parentheses):

<b>1SG</b>	(u)neene	<b>1PL</b>	(u)hweehwe
<b>2SG</b>	(u)veeve	<b>2PL</b>	(u)nyeenye
<b>3SG</b>	(u)mweene	<b>3PL</b>	(a)veene

Table 2.19 Bena personal pronouns

#### 2.4.4 Processes involving nasal prefixation

There are two types of nasal prefixes in Bena. The first is the affixation of the nasal prefix /N-/ to Class 9/10 nouns. The second type of nasal prefixation involves the first person singular object prefix /N-/. These two types of nasal prefixation will be treated together, since the same phonological processes affect each of them.

##### 2.4.4.1 Nasal assimilation

When a nasal is prefixed to a stem beginning in a voiced stop, the nasal assimilates in place to the stop. This is illustrated by the examples below:

- (75) a. N-baliha → *mbalíha* 'flea'  
           CL9-flea       [mbalíha]
- b. N-diilo → *ndíilo* 'basket'  
           CL9-basket   [ndí:lo]
- c. N-gubi → *ngúbi* 'pig'  
           CL9-pig       [ŋgúbi]

#### 2.4.4.2 Nasal-stop coalescence

When a nasal is prefixed to a stem beginning in a voiceless stop, the nasal and the stop coalesce<sup>21</sup>:

- (76) a. N-pinga → *miinga* 'herd'  
CL9-herd [mí:ŋga]
- b. N-tondwe → *nóóndwe* 'stars'  
CL10-star [nó:ⁿdwe]
- c. N-kahala → *ng'ahála* 'trash'  
CL9-trash [ŋahála]

The same process applies when the first person singular object marker is prefixed to a verbal stem:

- (77) a. N-pyaanil-a → *myaaníla* 'forgive me'  
1SG.OBJ-forgive-FV [mja:níla]
- b. N-tang-a → *náánga* 'help me'  
1SG.OBJ-help-FV [ná:ŋga]
- c. N-kemel-a → *ng'eméla* 'call me'  
1SG.OBJ-call-FV [ŋeméla]

#### 2.4.4.3 Nasal-affricate coalescence

When a nasal prefixes to the affricate /ts/, /ns/ results:

<sup>21</sup> Hyman (2003) notes that this is shared by other closely related languages (Hehe G62, Pangwa G64, and Kinga G65).

- (78) a. N-dzuguni → *ńdzuguni* ‘roosters’  
 CL10-rooster [ńsuguni]
- b. N-dzang-a → *ńdzáánga* ‘deceive me’  
 1SG.OBJ-deceive-FV [ńsá:ᵐga]

#### 2.4.4.4 Liquid stopping

When a nasal prefix attaches to a stem beginning in /l/, the liquid becomes a stop:

- (79) a. N-limi → *ńdĩmi* ‘tongues’  
 CL10-tongue [ndĩmi]
- b. N-lenga → *ńdéénga* ‘waters’  
 CL10-water [ndé:ᵐga]
- c. N-let-A → *ńdéta* ‘bring me’  
 1SG.OBJ-bring-FV [ndétʰa]
- d. N-liy-A → *ńdĩya* ‘eat me’  
 1SG.OBJ-eat-FV [ndĩja]

#### 2.4.4.5 Nasal-approximant coalescence

When a nasal is prefixed to a stem beginning in an approximant (/j/ or /w/), a prenasalized affricate results:

- (80) a. N-yuhi → *ńdzuhi* 'bees'  
CL10-bee [ńtsuhi]
- b. N-yeeh-a → *ndzééha* 'discredit me'  
1SG.OBJ-discredit-FV [ntsé:ha]
- c. N-waya → *ndzáya* 'wires'  
CL10-wire [ntsája]

#### 2.4.4.6 /N/ + /h/ coalescence

When a nasal is prefixed to a stem beginning in a glottal fricative /h/, the nasal becomes palatal and the fricative is deleted:

- (81) a. N-heh-a → *nyéha* 'laugh at me'  
1SG.OBJ-laugh-FV [néha]
- b. N-halafu → *nyaláfu* 'ants'  
CL10-ant [naláfu]

#### 2.4.4.7 /v/ stopping

When a nasal is prefixed to a stem beginning in a labiodental fricative /v/, a bilabial prenasalized stop results:

- (82) a. N-vuudz-a → *mbúúdzá* 'ask me'  
1SG.OBJ-ask-FV [mbú:tsa]
- b. N-vaga → *mbága* 'corrals'  
CL10-corral [mbága]

#### 2.4.4.8 /dz/ epenthesis

One final process applies to nasal prefixation. When /N-/ is prefixed to a verb beginning in a vowel, /dz/ is inserted between the nasal and the vowel:

- (83) a. N-iganidz-a → **ndziganídza** 'teach me'  
 1SG.OBJ-teach-FV [ntsiganítsa]
- b. N-aayo → **ndzááyo** 'heels'  
 CL10-heel [ntsá:jo]
- c. N-eend-A → **ndzéénda** 'love me'  
 1SG.OBJ-love-FV [ntsé:<sup>n</sup>da]
- d. N-ambuh-A → **ndzaambúha** 'betray me'  
 1SG.OBJ-betray-FV [ntsa:<sup>m</sup>búha]

#### 2.4.5 /v/ deletion

The voiced labiodental fricative /v/ deletes when immediately preceding a labio-velar approximant. This is summarized in (84):

$$(84) v \rightarrow \emptyset / \_ w$$

The environment resulting in /v/ deletion occurs when verbs ending in /v/ are passivized, as is shown in the following examples:

- (85) a. *vav-a* → *vava* ‘ache, burn’  
burn-FV [vava]
- b. *vav-w-a* → *vawa* ‘be hurt’  
burn-PASS-FV [vawa]
- c. *tov-a* → *tova* ‘hit’  
hit-FV [tova]
- d. *tov-w-a* → *towa* ‘be hit’  
hit-PASS-FV [towa]

#### 2.4.6 Spirantization

In Bena, certain consonants spirantize before the high front vowel /i/.

Spirantization occurs only at a morpheme boundary, and before particular suffixes. It is quite common for spirantization to be blocked before certain suffixes in Bantu, particularly the applicative suffix (Bostoen 2008). In Bena, spirantization happens before the nominalizing suffix *-i* and before the short causative suffix *-i*. Spirantization is blocked before the applicative suffix *-il*, before the long causative *-idz*, before the stative suffix *-ih*, and before the impositive suffix *-ih*. Thus spirantization occurs before suffixes of the form *-i* and is blocked before suffixes of the form *-iC*. Suffixes which do and do not trigger spirantization are summarized below:



SUFFIXES WHICH TRIGGER SPIRANTIZATION	SUFFIXES WHICH BLOCK SPIRANTIZATION
nominalizer <i>-i</i>	applicative <i>-íl</i>
short causative <i>-í</i>	long causative <i>-ídz</i>
	stative <i>-ih</i>
	impositive <i>-ih</i>

Table 2.20 Suffixes triggering and blocking spirantization

Labial consonants /p, b, mb, v/ spirantize to the voiceless labiodental fricative /f/.

Several examples of this process are given below:

- (86) a. púúp-a → *púúpa* 'boil (INTR)'  
 boil-FV [p<sup>h</sup>ú:p<sup>h</sup>a]
- b. púúp-i-a → *púúfya* 'boil (TR)'  
 boil-CAUS-FV [p<sup>h</sup>ú:fja]
- (87) a. wúúmb-a → *wúúmba* 'make pottery'  
 make.pottery-FV [wú:<sup>m</sup>ba]
- b. wu-wúúmb-i → *wuwúúfi* 'pottery'  
 CL14-make.pottery-NMLZ [wuwú:fi]
- (88) a. gav-a → *gava* 'create'  
 create-FV [gava]
- b. mu-gav-i → *mugáfi* 'creator'  
 CL1-create-NMLZ [mugáfi]
- (89) a. kaláv-a → *kaláva* 'bathe'  
 bathe-FV [k<sup>h</sup>aláva]
- b. kaláv-i-a → *kaláfya* 'wash (TR)'  
 bathe-CAUS-FV [k<sup>h</sup>aláfja]

The consonants /t/ and /h/ spirantize to the voiceless alveolar fricative /s/, as is illustrated below:

- |         |                 |   |                          |                     |
|---------|-----------------|---|--------------------------|---------------------|
| (90) a. | det-a           | → | <i>deta</i>              | ‘lie’               |
|         | lie-FV          |   | [det <sup>h</sup> a]     |                     |
| b.      | mu-det-i        | → | <i>mudési</i>            | ‘liar’              |
|         | CL1-lie-NMLZ    |   | [mudési]                 |                     |
| (91) a. | gut-a           | → | <i>guta</i>              | ‘be full (of food)’ |
|         | full-FV         |   | [gut <sup>h</sup> a]     |                     |
| b.      | gut-i-a         | → | <i>gúsa</i>              | ‘sate’              |
|         | full-CAUS-FV    |   | [gúsa]                   |                     |
| (92) a. | teleh-a         | → | <i>teléha</i>            | ‘cook (V)’          |
|         | cook-FV         |   | [t <sup>h</sup> eléha]   |                     |
| b.      | mu-teleh-i      | → | <i>mutelési</i>          | ‘cook (N)’          |
|         | CL1-cook-NMLZ   |   | [mut <sup>h</sup> elési] |                     |
| (93) a. | ih-a            | → | <i>íiha</i>              | ‘descend’           |
|         | descend-FV      |   | [í:ha]                   |                     |
| b.      | ih-i-a          | → | <i>íisa</i>              | ‘lower’             |
|         | descend-CAUS-FV |   | [í:sa]                   |                     |

The alveolar and velar voiced consonants /d, g, l/ spirantize to the affricate /ts/.

Prenasalized alveolar and velar consonants /nd, ng/ spirantize to a prenasalized affricate /nts/. This is illustrated below:

- (94) a. *hig-a* → *higa* 'judge (V)'  
           judge-FV [híga]  
       b. *mu-hig-i* → *múhidzi* 'judge (N)'  
           CL1-judge-NMLZ [múhitsi]
- (95) a. *nyil-a* → *nyíla* 'run'  
           run-FV [níla]  
       b. *nyil-i-a* → *nyídza* 'chase'  
           run-CAUS-FV [nítsa]
- (96) a. *gend-a* → *géénda* 'walk'  
           walk-FV [gé:<sup>n</sup>da]  
       b. *gend-i-a* → *gééndza* 'walk (a guest) around'  
           walk-CAUS-FV [gé:<sup>n</sup>tsa]
- (97) a. *dzeng-a* → *dzéénga* 'build'  
           build-FV [tsé:<sup>n</sup>ga]  
       b. *mu-dzeng-i* → *mudzééndzi* 'builder'  
           CL1-build-NMLZ [mutsé:<sup>n</sup>tsi]

Nasals /m, n, ɲ, ŋ/ and spirants /s, ts/ do not spirantize:

- (98) a. *hon-a* → *hona* 'sew'  
           sew-FV [hona]  
       b. *mu-hon-i* → *muhóni* 'tailor'  
           CL1-sew-FV [muhóni]
- (99) a. *lim-a* → *lima* 'farm'  
           farm-FV [lima]  
       b. *mu-lim-i* → *mulími* 'farmer'  
           CL1-farm-FV [mulími]

- (100) a. *heh-i-a* → *hésa* ‘make someone laugh’  
           *laugh-CAUS-FV*                    *[hésa]*
- b. *mu-heh-i-i* → *muhési* ‘clown’  
           *CL1-laugh-CAUS-NMLZ*                   *[muhési]*
- (101) a. *hudz-a* → *húdza* ‘strain’  
           *strain-FV*                               *[hútsa]*
- b. *lu-hudz-i* → *luhúdzi* ‘sauce’  
           *CL11-strain-NMLZ*                   *[luhútsi]*

There are no examples of the approximants /w/ and /j/ occurring in a position that would trigger spirantization. Therefore it is unknown how these consonants would behave in such an environment.

#### 2.4.7 Imbrication

Imbrication is a process which can best be described as a type of coalescence in which multiple morphemes are interwoven together. In Bena, this process is triggered by the final vowel *-ile*.<sup>22</sup> Imbrication is fairly common (though not well described) in Bantu. The type of imbrication exhibited by Bena is similar to that described by Bickmore (2007) for Cilungu.

Consider the following examples:

<sup>22</sup>The suffix *-ile* is referred to throughout this grammar as one of Bena’s “final vowels”. It occurs on the ends of verbs. Though *-ile* does not consist of a single vowel, it patterns in a similar manner to other final vowels *-e* and *-a*. Therefore Bantuists typically refer to the *-ile* suffix as a “final vowel”. These three suffixes, are discussed in further detail in 5.2.2.

- (102) a. hu-gon-a → *húgona* 'to sleep'  
           CL15-sleep-FV                   [húgona]  
       b. ndi-gon-ile → *ndigónile* 'I have slept'  
           1SG-sleep-FV                   [<sup>n</sup>digónile]

Example (102) illustrates formation of the near past perfective using the verb *gon* 'sleep'. This is a non-imbricating verb, and as (b) shows, the suffix *-ile* does not coalesce with the verb stem. Now consider (103):

- (103) a. hu-pulh-idz-a → *hupulihídza* 'to listen'  
           CL15-hear-CAUS-FV                   [hup<sup>h</sup>ulihítsa]  
       b. ndi-pulih-idz-ile → *ndipulihífdze* 'I have listened'  
           1SG-hear-CAUS-FV                   [<sup>n</sup>dip<sup>h</sup>ulihítse]

In (103), the past perfective is not *\*ndipulihídze* with simple morpheme concatenation as one would expect. Instead, the inflectional suffix *-ile* and the causative suffix *-idz* coalesce, resulting in the form given in (b).

Imbrication in Bena has a number of characteristics. First, the inflectional suffix *-ile* and (to a lesser extent) the applicative suffix *-il* are the only suffixes which can trigger imbrication. Second, imbrication does not occur with underived roots of the form (C)VC (this will be discussed further below). Instead, imbrication occurs as the result of the interaction of verbal suffixes of the form VC with the inflectional suffix *-ile*. Third, imbrication results in an inter-weaving of morphemes (as illustrated in (103) above). Fourth, imbrication almost always results in a long vowel in the verbal suffix. All other verbal suffixes (inflectional and derivational) contain short vowels; thus if a form contains a long vowel in its suffix, that vowel is the result of imbrication. Finally,

imbrication does not impact tone (tone patterns follow the melody of the tense-aspect combination).

(104) (adapted from Bickmore 2007:119) gives a schematic describing imbrication in Bena:

- (104) a. /...C-VC-ile/ → ...C-VilC-e → ...C-ViC-e  
 b. /ndi-pulih-idz-ile/ ndipulih-iildz-e → *ndipulih-iidz-e* → *ndipulihíídze*

As (104) shows, when imbrication occurs, the first suffix (in this case *-idz*) merges with the inflectional suffix *-ile*. The vowel /i/ from *-ile* moves before the /dz/ in the first suffix, and the /l/ is deleted (with the exception of the passive extension *-w* where the /l/ is maintained). This same basic pattern is present whenever imbrication occurs.

As mentioned above, imbrication is blocked in verbal roots of the form (C)VC. Thus when *-ile* directly follows a (C)VC root (without any intervening suffixes), imbrication does not occur. This is illustrated by the examples below (infinitives are given as a reference point):

- (105) a. hu-adz-a → *hwáádza* ‘to come’  
           CL15-come-FV [hwáátsa]  
       b. ndi-adz-ile → *ndáádzile* ‘I have come’  
           1SG-come-FV [ʔdá:tsile]
- (106) a. hu-heh-a → *húheha* ‘to laugh’  
           CL15-laugh-FV [húheha]  
       b. ndi-heh-a → *ndihéhile* ‘I have laughed’  
           1SG-laugh-FV [ʔdihéhile]

Imbrication is also blocked in reduplicated (C)VC verbal roots:

- (107) a. hu-génd-a → *hugéénda* 'to walk'  
 CL15-walk-FV [hugé:"da]
- b. ndi-gend-ile → *ndigééndile* 'I have walked'  
 1SG-walk-FV ["digé:"dile]
- c. hu-genda-gend-a → *hugendagéénda* 'to wander around'  
 CL15-REDUP-walk-FV [huge"dagé:"da]
- d. ndi-genda-gend-ile → *ndigendagééndile* 'I have wandered around'  
 1SG-REDUP-walk-FV [ndige"dagé:"dile]

Imbrication does occur when the inflectional suffix *-ile* follows a derivational extension. Further, imbrication interacts with a number of phonological processes. The behavior of imbrication with various derivational extensions is shown by the examples below. This is accompanied by further explanation of the phonological processes involved, if necessary.

- (108) a. hu-tov-w-a → *hutówa* 'to be hit' Passive  
 CL15-hit-PASS-FV [hut<sup>h</sup>ówa]
- b. ndi-tov-w-ile → *nditovíllwe* 'I have been hit'  
 1SG-hit-PASS-FV ["dit<sup>h</sup>oví:lwe]

Example (108) shows that the passive suffix *-w* is the only suffix with which imbrication maintains the /l/ in *-ile*. This is likely because the passive suffix is also the only derivational extension which does not have the form VC. Note, too, that the

inflectional suffix *-ile*, even though it occurs after the passive, blocks deletion of /v/ when it precedes /w/ (this shows that imbrication applies before /v/ deletion).

- (109) a. hu-dind-il-a → *hudiindíla* 'to close (with/for something)' Applicative  
 CL15-close-APPL-FV [hudi:ˈdíla]
- b. ndi-dind-il-ile → *ndidíindiye*<sup>23</sup> 'I have closed (with/for something)'  
 1SG-close-APPL-FV [ˈdidiːˈdije]

Imbrication behaves slightly differently with the applicative extension *-il* than it does with other extensions. This is illustrated by (109). If imbrication with the applicative followed the same pattern as other suffixes, the expected form in (108b) would be *\*ndidíindiile*. Instead, the form *ndidíindiye* results (an alternate pronunciation is *ndidíindyē*. In order to derive the proper form, both /l/s must delete (in other forms, a single /l/ deletes). This is then followed by glide formation where the second /i/ becomes /y/ (this is why there is no long vowel in this form):

- (110) ndi-dind-il-ile → ndi-diind-iill-e → ndi-diind-ii-e → ndi-diind-iy-e → *ndidíindiye*  
 1SG-close- imbrication /l/ deletion glide formation  
 APPL-FV

An alternate pronunciation of the form in (110) is *ndidíindyē*. Here, the high front vowel /i/ optionally deletes preceding a palatal approximant.

<sup>23</sup> An alternate pronunciation of this is *ndidíindyē* [ˈdidiːˈdje].



- (111) a. hu-hegel-idz-a → *huhegelédza* ‘to move (something)’ Causative  
 CL15-move-CAUS-FV [huhegelétsa]
- b. ndi-hegel-idz-ile → *ndihegelíídze* ‘I have moved  
 1SG-move-CAUS-FV [ˈndihegelí:tse] (something)’
- (112) a. hu-déény-íh-a → *hudeenyéha* ‘to be broken (STAT)’ Stative  
 CL15-break-STAT-FV [hude:ɲéha]
- b. lu-déény-íh-ile → *ludényiíhe* ‘it has been broken’  
 CL5-break-STAT-FV [ludé:ɲi:he]

Examples (111) and (112) show that imbrication takes place before vowel harmony (thus blocking vowel harmony).

- (113) a. hu-mem-i-a → *humémya* ‘to fill (something)’ Short  
 CL15-fill-CAUS-FV [humémja] Causative
- b. ndi-mem-i-ile → *ndimemíídze* ‘I have filled  
 1SG-fill-CAUS-FV [ˈndimemí:tse] (something)’
- (114) a. hu-lóng-án-a → *huloongána* ‘to communicate’ Reciprocal  
 CL15-talk-RECIP-FV [hulo:ɲgána]
- b. ti-long-an-ile → *tilóngiine* ‘we have  
 1PL-talk-RECIP-FV [tʰiló:ɲgi:ne] communicated’

- (115) a. hu-handzing'-ás-a → *huhandzing'ása* 'to mix together' Intensive  
           CL15-mix-INTENS-FV [huha<sup>n</sup>siŋása]  
       b. dzi-handzing'-ás-ile → *dzihandzing'ííse* 'they have mixed together'  
           CL10-mix-INTENS-FV [tsiha<sup>n</sup>tsiŋí:se]

In (114) and (115), the vowel in the extensions (-*án* and -*ás*) is different from the vowel in the inflectional suffix -*ile*. This triggers vowel coalescence, resulting in the long vowel /ii/.

- (116) a. hu-siil-ul-a → *husiilúla* 'to dig up' Separative  
           CL15-bury-SEP-FV [husi:lúla] (transitive)  
       b. ndi-siil-ul-ile → *ndisiílwe* 'I have dug up'  
           1SG-bury-SEP-FV [ˈdisi:lwe]

In (116) (as with the applicative forms), imbrication results in /ll/. Both /l/s are deleted; this is followed by glide formation. Compensatory lengthening is blocked because long vowels cannot occur word-finally.

- (117) ndi-siil-ul-ile → ndi-siil-uill-e → ndi-siil-ui-e → ndi-siil-w-e → *ndisiílwe*  
           1SG-bury-SEP-       imbrication       /ll/ deletion       glide formation  
           FV

The intransitive separative suffix -*uh* behaves slightly differently from the transitive separative:

- (118) a. hu-dind-uh-a → *hudiindúha* 'to open (INTR)' Separative  
           CL15-close-SEP-FV [hudi:<sup>n</sup>dúha] (intransitive)  
       b. gu-dind-uh-ile → *gudíndwiihe* 'it has opened (INTR)'  
           CL3-close-SEP-FV [gudí:<sup>n</sup>dwihe]

Here, because the resultant lengthened vowel is not word-final, compensatory lengthening is not blocked. This is shown in (119):

- (119) gu-dind-uh-ile → gu-dind-uilh-e → gu-dind-uih-e →  
 CL3-close-SEP-FV imbrication /ll/ deletion  
 gu-dind-wih-e → gu-dind-wiih-e → *gudiíndwihe*  
 glide formation compensatory lengthening

Imbrication with the extensive suffix is similar to other suffixes ending in /l/:

- (120) a. hu-sig-al-a → *husigála* 'to remain' Extensive  
 CL15-remain-EXT-FV [husigála]  
 b. ndi-sig-al-ile → *ndisígye* 'I have remained'  
 1SG-remain-EXT-FV [ˈdisígye]

In verbs containing multiple derivational extensions, phonological processes apply in order from left to right. Consider the example below which contains both a transitive separative extension *-úl* and a short causative extension *-i*:

- (121) ndi-pung-úl-i-ile → ndi-pung-údz-il-e → ndi-pung-úildz-e →  
 1SG-reduce-SEP-CAUS-FV spirantization imbrication  
 ndi-pung-úildz-e → ndi-pung-wídz-e → *ndi-pung-wídz-e* → *ndipungwídze*  
 /l/ deletion glide formation compensatory lengthening

In addition to verbs containing derivational extensions, imbrication also applies to verbs which have roots longer than (C)VC (i.e., verbs with roots longer than one syllable).

These verbs may or may not have had derivational extensions historically, but currently it is impossible to reconstruct such extensions. Verbs with roots containing two or more

syllables follow the same rules for imbrication as those described above for verbs containing derivational suffixes. Several examples of these verbs are given below:

- (122) a. hu-teléh-a → *huteléha* 'to cook'  
 CL15-cook-FV [hut<sup>h</sup>eléha]
- b. ndi-teleh-ile → *nditéliihe* 'I have cooked'  
 1SG-cook-FV [n<sup>d</sup>it<sup>h</sup>éli:he]
- (123) a. hu-tutum-a → *hútutuma* 'to billow'  
 CL15-billow-FV [hút<sup>h</sup>ut<sup>h</sup>uma]
- b. lu-tutum-ile → *lutútwiime* 'it has billowed'  
 CL11-billow-FV [lut<sup>h</sup>út<sup>h</sup>wi:me]
- (124) a. hu-tawúl-a → *hutawúla* 'to give'  
 CL15-give-FV [hut<sup>h</sup>awúla]
- b. ndi-tawul-ile → *nditááwe* 'I have given'  
 1SG-give-FV [n<sup>d</sup>it<sup>h</sup>á:we]

## 2.5 Orthography

The first Bena orthography was developed by German missionaries during the early part of the twentieth century. Various documents utilize orthographies which exhibit different degrees of modification to this orthography. More recently, at a phonology workshop held by SIL Int'l in 2004, a group of Bena speakers voted to modify the older orthography. This newer orthography was developed for several reasons. First,

it removed the diacritics that were used in older versions of the orthography in order to make the orthography easier to use and read. The symbol for the velar nasal <ñ> was replaced with <ng'> and <ñ>/<ñ> (the palatal nasal; also written by some speakers as <ñ>) was replaced with <ny>. Both <ng'> and <ny> are used in the Swahili orthography. Thus another reason for the development of the new Bena orthography was to ease issues in orthography transfer between Swahili and Bena. To this end <j> was replaced with <y> (this change also served the secondary purpose of streamlining <j> and <y> into a single symbol <y>). It is this newer orthography which is currently being used by SIL and by the Kukula Group. Orthographies which have been used for Bena are summarized below. (Parentheses indicate inconsistent usage of a particular symbol; Chaula 1989 is not included because he uses IPA throughout.)

PHONEME	GERMAN- 1 <sup>24</sup>	GERMAN- 2 <sup>25</sup>	SWARTZ 1968	HONGOLE 2002 <sup>26</sup>	SIL/ KUKULA <sup>27</sup>
p	p	p	p	p	p
b	b	b	b	b	b
t	t	t	t	t	t
d	d	d	d	d	d
root-initial k	k	k	k	k	k

<sup>24</sup> Used in Bible translation (British & Foreign Bible Society 1914) and Anon. (1914). Schumann (1917) also uses this version of the orthography with modified tone marking (he adds  $\hat{v}$  to indicate falling tone,  $\check{v}$  to indicate low tone, and  $v$  to indicate a toneless vowel).

<sup>25</sup> Used in the Bena hymnal (Dayosisi la Kusini 1914) and an unidentified manuscript of a Bena-English dictionary which I have in my possession (this likely corresponds with Küsters 193?). Priebusch (1935) also uses this version of the orthography with the exception that he uses <ñ> rather than <ñ> for the palatal nasal.

<sup>26</sup> Also used by Kimilike 2008 with the exception that Kimilike uses <v> rather than <vw> and sometimes uses <y> rather than <j>.

<sup>27</sup> The Tanzania Language Survey (Nurse and Philippson 1975) uses a similar orthography; however the TLS is less consistent in marking vowel length, uses <vw> rather than <v>, and sometimes uses <j> rather than <y>. Nyagava (1999) also uses a similar orthography but does not mark length.

PHONEME	GERMAN- 1 <sup>24</sup>	GERMAN- 2 <sup>25</sup>	SWARTZ 1968	HONGOLE 2002 <sup>26</sup>	SIL/ KUKULA <sup>27</sup>
medial/prefixal k	k	k	h	k	k <sup>28</sup>
g	g	g	g	g	g
m	m	m	m	m	m
n	n	n	n	n	n
ɲ	ń	ń	ny	ny'	ny
ŋ	ñ	ñ	ng'	ng'	ng'
f	f	f	f	f	f
v	v	v	v	v	v
s	s	s	s	s	s
h	h	h	h	h	h
ts	dz	dz	j	dz	dz
<sup>m</sup> b	mb	mb	mb	mb	mb
<sup>n</sup> d	nd	nd	nd	nd	nd
<sup>ŋ</sup> g	ng	ng	ng	ng	ng
<sup>n</sup> s	ndz	ndz	nj	ndz	ndz
l	l	l	l	l	l
w (underlying)	vw	vw	w	v, vw	w
w (derived from u)	w	w	w	w	w
w (following C)	w	w	w	w	w
j (underlying)	j	j	y	j	y
j (derived from i)	y	y	y	y	y
j (following C)	y	y	y	y	y
i	i	i	i	i	i
u	u	u	u	u	u
e	e	e	e	e	e

<sup>28</sup> Use of <k> for prefixal/medial /k/ is standard; however in reality, many speakers prefer to write this using <h>.

PHONEME	GERMAN- 1 <sup>24</sup>	GERMAN- 2 <sup>25</sup>	SWARTZ 1968	HONGOLE 2002 <sup>26</sup>	SIL/ KUKULA <sup>27</sup>
o	o	o	o	o	o
a	a	a	a	a	a
High tone	( $\hat{v}$ )	unmarked	unmarked	unmarked	unmarked
Underlying length	( $\bar{v}$ )	unmarked	unmarked	unmarked	VV
Compensatory length	unmarked	unmarked	unmarked	unmarked	unmarked <sup>29</sup>
Final vowel deletion	(')	(')	unmarked	unmarked	unmarked

Table 2.21 Various orthographies used for Bena.

I have chosen to use the orthography proposed by SIL/Kukula Group with minor modifications. I mark High tone with a diacritic ( $\hat{v}$ ). I also mark vowels which undergo compensatory lengthening as long (VV). In addition to this, I have chosen to use <h> to represent prefixal/medial h/k. This is because almost all of the speakers with whom I worked pronounce this as [h] rather than [k] (see discussion in 2.1.1.1).

## 2.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed major aspects of Bena phonetics and phonology. I began with an overview of Bena's segmental inventory: I discussed consonant and vowel types. For each consonant and vowel I gave information about its pronunciation, its distribution, and any (known) dialectal variants. This was followed by an analysis of vowel length and the types of processes which can be used to derive length. Next I

<sup>29</sup> Marking of length in compensatorily lengthened vowels is currently inconsistent. The orthography adapted by the Kukula Group officially does not mark compensatory lengthening (only phonemic length is marked); however informal discussion with Bena speakers using the orthography reveals that it is difficult for speakers to remember the rules dictating the marking of length.

presented an analysis of Bena syllable structure. This was followed by a description of Bena tone. I established the presence of pre-stem-initial, stem initial, antepenultimate, and penultimate tone patterns. In addition to these four major patterns word-final High tone is possible in restricted circumstances. Nominal tone is underlying (or assigned to the PSI position in the case of underlyingly toneless nouns). Inflected verbs are assigned one of several tonal melodies. Section 2.4 goes into detail about a number of morphophonological processes. The final portion of this chapter is dedicated to Bena orthography. The remainder of this grammar will use the orthographic conventions as outlined in 2.5.



## Chapter 3

### Word Classes

Bena word classes can be defined by the morphological structure and syntactic behavior of words belonging to each class. Nouns and verbs are by far the classes with the largest membership. Other word classes include pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, adverbs, conjunctions, interjections, ideophones, and interrogatives. This chapter briefly addresses each word class, giving the criteria for membership in that class and the major characteristics exhibited by members of that class. This chapter also serves as a “road map” for the next several chapters of the dissertation, providing information about where each word class is discussed.

#### 3.1 Nouns

One of the major defining characteristics of a Bena noun is its participation in a noun class system. The noun class system governs a system of concord, where class of a particular noun triggers agreement on other elements. Noun class membership is marked via a prefix on the noun. Nouns may be derived into other classes via prefix substitution. Morphologically, Bena nouns typically consist of an optional augment,<sup>1</sup> a noun class prefix, and a nominal stem. Locative nouns have two noun class prefixes (the locative prefix and the inherent noun class prefix). This structure is shown below:

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<sup>1</sup> The augment takes the form of a vowel that occurs before the noun class prefix on a noun. It is discussed in 4.1.4.

(1) (augment) + (locative noun class prefix) + noun class prefix + nominal stem

Syntactically, nouns serve as the heads of noun phrases and can be modified by adjectives, quantifiers, possessive pronouns, and demonstratives. Noun phrases can serve as arguments (subjects and objects) and as predicate nominals in copular constructions. Noun phrases are typically head-initial. A head noun triggers class agreement on other elements in a noun phrase. This agreement is marked by using two different series of prefixes. Noun class prefixes are used with adjectives, the quantifiers *-onda* ‘many’ and *-keefu* ‘few’, and the inflected interrogative *-hi* ‘which’. Agreement class prefixes are used with possessive pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, the quantifier *-onda* ‘all’, and the inflected interrogative *-linga* ‘how many’.

Bena nouns can be further sub-categorized into 19 different classes. Of these, 12 (Classes 1-11 and 14) are noun classes to which nouns inherently belong. Three (Classes 12, 13, and 20) have no inherent members; instead nouns are derived into these classes via noun class substitution. Locative classes (16, 17, and 18) have a few inherent members, but most are derived into these classes via prefix addition (thus locative nouns have two noun class prefixes, a locative prefix and the inherent prefix of the noun). Class 15 is comprised of verbal infinitives. These nouns exhibit other typical properties of nouns (they are marked with a noun class prefix; they can be modified by adjectives, demonstratives, and possessive pronouns; and they can serve as arguments), but contain a verbal stem. There is a final subcategory of nouns—proper names. Proper names are not marked with a noun class prefix and are not easily modified by other elements such as adjectives and demonstratives, but they do exhibit other properties of nouns—they can be

marked with an augment, they behave syntactically as nouns, and they can take locative prefixes. Nouns are discussed in much greater detail in Chapter 4 which includes an analysis of nominal morphology, the noun class system, and the ways in which nouns can be derived (both from other nouns and from other word classes).

### 3.2 Verbs

The word class of verbs is the other class which has a large number of members. Verbs are identified both by their morphology and by their syntactic behavior. Verbs can be marked with numerous (primarily inflectional) prefixes and several (primarily derivational) suffixes. Like several other word classes, verbs are marked to agree with the class of the subject noun. Verbs, unlike other word classes, can be marked for tense and aspect. Further, there are a number of derivational extensions (suffixes) which are used to derive one verb from another. Other word classes cannot utilize these suffixes. A template showing affixes which can occur on verbs is given below:

PRE-SM	SM	NEG	TA <sub>1</sub>	TA <sub>2</sub>	OM	ROOT	EXTENSION	PRE-FV	FV
rel. or neg.	subj. marker	neg.	tense-aspect	tense-aspect	obj. marker	verbal root	up to three extensions	IPFV	final vowel

Table 3.1 The Bena verb

In addition to fully inflecting verbs, there are a number of verbs which show reduced verbal morphology. These include copulas and existentials. Verbal morphology is discussed in further detail in Chapter 5.

Syntactically, verbs have a number of different properties. They serve as heads of verb phrases and as predicates. One of their primary functions is to code events. Verbs

can also be modified by adverbs such as *hiilo* ‘very’.<sup>2</sup> The syntactic behavior of verbs is discussed in Chapter 6.

### 3.3 Pronouns

Pronouns substitute for a noun phrase. There are several different types of pronouns in Bena. Free-standing personal pronouns can serve as arguments. Personal pronouns are usually used only for emphasis or contrast. Dependent pronouns are formed by fusing the clitic *na* ‘and/with’ with a pronominal element. Dependent pronouns can either follow a noun phrase logophorically, or they stand alone, in which case they are roughly translated “and/with X”. Possessive pronouns follow the head noun in a noun phrase and are used to indicate possessor. Possessive pronouns participate in the concord system and thus are marked with a noun class prefix agreeing with the head noun. Finally, interrogative pronouns are used to ask content questions. Two of these, *-hi* ‘which’ and *-linga* ‘how many’ are marked with the noun class prefix of the head noun; all other interrogative pronouns are uninflected. Each type of pronoun is described in greater detail in section 4.2.1.

### 3.4 Adjectives

Adjectives in Bena, as in many other Bantu languages, form a fairly small word class. Bena has 21 adjectives (listed in 4.2.2), which fit semantically into several categories (following Dixon 1977), describing dimension, age, value, color, physical

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<sup>2</sup> The ability to be modified by adverbs is a property verbs share with adjectives.

property, and human propensity. Morphologically, an adjective consists of an adjectival stem preceded by a noun class prefix which agrees with its head noun in class. In some cases, an adjective may take an augment. Adjectives follow the noun which they modify. Because adjectives and nouns use the same set of noun class prefixes, it can be difficult to distinguish them from one another. Here, the primary distinguishing characteristic between nouns and adjectives has to do with inherence of class. Nouns have inherent class. They always have the same class, unless they are derived via noun class shift into a different class. Adjectives have no inherent class, and an adjective could theoretically be used to modify a noun from any class (and could therefore appear with any noun class prefix). An additional characteristic distinguishing adjectives from nouns is adjectives' ability to be modified by adverbs, such as *hiilo* 'very'. Syntactically, adjectives most often modify a noun within a noun phrase. Adjectives can also function predicatively in copular constructions and can serve syntactically as an NP when no head noun is present. Adjectives are discussed in 4.2.2.

### 3.5 Demonstratives

In Bena, demonstratives serve a number of different functions. Usually they are deictic, marking physical and temporal proximity. They can also be used anaphorically and to indicate differing degrees of emphasis. Morphologically, demonstratives are marked to agree with their head noun in class; all demonstratives are composed of an agreement class marker and some sort of demonstrative stem. Demonstratives in Bena are bisyllabic, with High tone occurring on the first syllable. Like adjectives, demonstratives

usually follow the noun which they modify; though unlike adjectives, they can precede the head noun under certain conditions. Demonstratives can also serve as demonstrative pronouns. Demonstratives, their formation and function, are discussed in greater detail in 4.2.3.

### 3.6 Quantifiers

Like other modifiers, quantifiers follow the head noun which they modify. Morphologically, however, they show somewhat less cohesion than do other word classes, because quantifiers exhibit three different morphological patterns. Numerals one through five and all other quantifiers agree with their head noun in class. Numerals one through five and the quantifier *-onda* ‘all’ are formed with a stem and the agreement class prefix of the head noun. The quantifiers *-keefu* ‘few’ and *-olofu* ‘many’ use the noun class prefix. Numerals higher than six do not inflect for class. Quantifiers are discussed further in 4.2.4.

### 3.7 Interrogatives

Interrogatives are used to form content questions. There are two types of interrogatives in Bena. The interrogatives *-hi* ‘which’ and *-linga* ‘how many’ inflect and agree with the noun class of the questioned noun. The rest of the interrogatives are uninflecting. These include *nááni* ‘who’, *hihi* ‘what’, *ndáli* ‘when’, *hwííya* ‘where’, and *wulíwuli* ‘how’. Discussion of interrogatives occurs at two different places in the

grammar. Inflecting interrogatives are discussed in Chapter 4, along with other elements that occur within the noun phrase. Uninflecting interrogatives are described in Chapter 6.

### **3.8 Adverbs and other invariables**

In addition to the word classes described above, there are a number of other word classes that do not have any inflectional morphology. Adverbs in Bena can broadly be divided into four categories—temporal adverbs, place adverbs, locational adverbs, and manner adverbs. Conjunctions in Bena take the form of invariable particles and link words, phrases, or clauses. Interjections are used to express agreement, disagreement, or surprise. Interjections are also used as backchannel responses. Finally, Bena has a class of ideophones. These serve as intensifiers or express repeated action. Adverbs and other invariables form the subject of Chapter 6.

### **3.9 Summary**

The next three chapters of this grammar discuss individual word classes in much greater detail. The following table summarizes the word classes found in Bena and the sections of the grammar which deal specifically with each class:

WORD CLASS	REFERENCE
Nouns	4.1
Verbs	5
Pronouns	4.2.1
Adjectives	4.2.2
Demonstratives	4.2.3
Quantifiers	4.2.4
Inflected interrogatives	4.2.6.6
Uninflected interrogatives	6.3
Adverbs	6.1
Conjunctions	6.2
Interjections	6.4
Ideophones	6.5

**Table 3.2 The locations of discussion of word classes in this grammar**



## Chapter 4

### The Noun Phrase

The noun phrase in Bena consists of a noun and any accompanying modifiers.

Nouns and nominal morphology are discussed in the first half of this chapter; the second half describes the structure of the noun phrase and other constituents that occur within the noun phrase (pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, the associative construction, and inflected interrogatives).

Like other Bantu languages, Bena utilizes a fairly complex system of noun classes. Class is marked via a prefix on the noun<sup>1</sup> and triggers nominal concord with other elements. Bena's system of nominal concord is not strict, as other factors (primarily animacy and humanness) affect agreement patterns. Adjectives, numbers, possessive pronouns, demonstratives, subject and object markers, and locatives are all marked with a prefix that agrees with their head noun in class. Some classes exhibit certain semantic characteristics. Thus membership in a particular noun class is determined by three things: 1) the prefix occurring on a noun; 2) concord triggered by that noun on other parts of speech; and 3) (in some cases) semantics. Consider, for example, the following:

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<sup>1</sup> Class 1a nouns and some nouns from Classes 9 and 10 do not have a noun class prefix. This is explained further below.

- (1) a. *váánu*      *vádebe*      *vávili*  
          va-nu      va-debe      va-vili  
          CL2-person   CL2-small   CL2-two  
          ‘boy, boys’
- b. *fíínu*      *fidebe*      *fivili*  
          fi-nu      fi-debe      fi-vili  
          CL8-thing   CL8-small   CL8-two  
          ‘two small things’

In the above examples, *váánu* ‘people’ belongs to Class 2 and *fíínu* ‘things’ belongs to Class 8. Class membership is marked with a prefix on each of the nouns (*va-* for the Class 2 noun and *fí-* for the Class 8 noun). Each noun triggers concord on the adjective and quantifier following it. A further property of noun class membership is semantic. In some noun classes, member nouns share certain semantic characteristics. Lexical meaning of a noun is determined by a combination of the semantics of the nominal stem and the semantics of its noun class prefix. (I return to the relationship between noun classes and semantics in 4.1.2.) Nouns have inherent class, but can be derived into other classes through prefixal substitution (see 4.1.6.1.1).

Pluralization in Bantu is also indicated by noun class. Certain noun classes refer to singular entities; other noun classes contain plural entities. Therefore the prefix that occurs on a noun carries a great deal of information: from the form of the prefix one can deduce person, number, and noun class (Katamba 2003).

It is worth noting here that two different terms have been used by Bantuists to refer to these groups of nouns. The first is “noun class”. This typically refers to one group of nouns bearing the same prefix and triggering the same concord patterns. The second term is “gender”. This usually refers to a pairing of singular and plural noun classes. Here,

following Maho (1999), I use only the term “noun class”. This is because the notion of gender assumes that a singular noun class is inherently paired with one other noun class. While this is often true, it is not always the case in Bena. For example Class 11 nouns can take their plural in either Class 6 or Class 10. Class 6 can serve as the plural for nouns from Classes 5, 11, 14, and 20. When referring to singular-plural pairings of two classes, I use, for example, Classes 1/2 or Classes 3/4.

This chapter discusses all of the elements which may occur in a noun phrase. The first portion of the chapter is dedicated to nominal morphology. This is broken down into two parts: inflectional morphology (the noun class system and the augment) and derivational morphology. This is followed by a discussion of other elements that can occur within the noun phrase (pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, the associative construction, and inflected interrogatives).

#### **4.1 Nominal morphology**

The noun in Bena consists of several elements. These include the augment, up to two noun class prefixes, and the nominal stem. This is shown below:

(2) (augment) - (locative noun class prefix) - noun class prefix - nominal stem

Use of the augment is conditioned by a number of factors (see 4.1.4). Classes 16, 17, and 18 are locative classes. With the exception of a few nouns that inherently belong to these classes, use of the locative prefix is always additive (i.e., it occurs before a noun’s inherent class prefix). This is discussed further in 4.1.1.10. Noun class prefixes occur on all nouns with the exception of Class 1a nouns and some Class 9/10 nouns. The nominal

stem may consist of either an underived or derived nominal stem. Nouns may be derived from adjectives, verbs, or other nouns (see 4.1.6).

#### 4.1.1 Noun classes

In Proto-Bantu it is currently estimated that 23 noun classes existed (Welmers 1973, Maho 1999, Katamba 2003). A survey conducted by Maho (1999) found that among 333 Bantu languages, the number of noun classes ranged from 0 to 19. Bena has 19 noun classes, which are summarized in the table below (numbering follows the traditional classification system see Meinhof (1932), Maho (1999), Katamba (2003)):

CLASS	AUGMENT	PREFIX	EXAMPLE	EXAMPLE GLOSS
1	<i>u-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mudíími</i>	‘boy’
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>va-</i>	<i>vadíími</i>	‘boys’
1a	<i>u-</i>	--	<i>kúúhu</i>	‘grandfather’
2	<i>a-</i>	<i>va-</i>	<i>vakúúhu</i>	‘grandfathers’
3	<i>u-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>múkoga</i>	‘river’
4	<i>i-</i>	<i>mi-</i>	<i>míkoga</i>	‘rivers’
5	<i>i-</i>	<i>li-</i>	<i>lideembwe</i>	‘elephant’
6	<i>a-</i>	<i>ma-</i>	<i>mádeembwe</i>	‘elephants’
7	<i>i-</i>	<i>hi-</i>	<i>hídeego</i>	‘chair’
8	<i>i-</i>	<i>fî-</i>	<i>fídeego</i>	‘chairs’
9	<i>i-</i>	<i>N-</i>	<i>ndíílo</i>	‘basket’
10	<i>i-</i>	<i>N-</i>	<i>ndíílo</i>	‘baskets’
11	<i>u-</i>	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lutáángo</i>	‘help’
12	<i>a-</i>	<i>ha-</i>	<i>hádela</i>	‘small root’
13	<i>u-</i>	<i>tu-</i>	<i>túdela</i>	‘small roots’
14	<i>u-</i>	<i>wu-</i>	<i>wútine</i>	‘flour’
15	<i>u-</i>	<i>hu-</i>	<i>hútova</i>	‘hitting’
16	<i>a-</i>	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pamúkoga</i>	‘at the river’
17	<i>u-</i>	<i>hu-</i>	<i>humúkoga</i>	‘at the river’
18	<i>u-</i>	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mumúkoga</i>	‘in the river’
20	<i>u-</i>	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gúdeembwe</i>	‘big elephant’

Table 4.1 Noun classes

A noun is assigned to an inherent class. The plural (if it exists) is assigned to a different class. Noun-noun derivation is accomplished by substituting one noun class prefix for another (see 4.1.4).

Table 4.2 shows the relative frequency of single noun classes based on the current database.<sup>2</sup>

CLASS	COUNT	PERCENTAGE
1	228	13.66%
3	133	7.97%
5	273	16.36%
7	245	14.68%
9	463	27.74%
11	184	11.02%
14	143	8.57%
<b>Total</b>	1669	100%

**Table 4.2 Frequency of single noun classes**

As shown in Table 4.2, Class 9 represents the largest class (more than one quarter of single nouns in Bena belong to Class 9). Classes 3 and 14 are the smallest classes (around eight percent of single nouns belong to each of these classes). The following sections treat each noun class in greater detail.

#### 4.1.1.1 Classes 1/2

As in most Bantu languages, Classes 1 and 2 in Bena comprise only human, animate nouns. Nearly all human nouns inherently belong to these classes.<sup>3</sup> Class 1 is used for singulars; Class 2 for plurals. Class 1 nouns are prefixed with *mu-* (*mw-* before vowels) and Class 2 nouns are prefixed with *va-* (*v-* before vowels).

<sup>2</sup> Because not all nouns have plurals, only single noun classes are included here in an attempt to provide an even representation of the data.

<sup>3</sup> The exceptions to this rule include *hyaali* 'infant' (Class 7) and some words borrowed directly from Swahili. For example, some people use *hibófu* 'blind person', borrowed from the Swahili *kibofu*, rather than the Bena *mubófu*.

- (3) *mudíími*,      *vadíími*  
       mu-díími      va-díími  
       CL1-boy      CL2-boys  
       ‘boy, boys’

- (4) *mwáána*,      *váána*  
       mw-ana      va-na  
       CL1-child      CL2-child  
       ‘child, children’

The Class 1 prefix *mu-* may also be pronounced as *m̥-* (see 2.4.2 for a more detailed explanation), thus in example (3), *mudíími* ‘boy’ may also be pronounced *m̥díími*.

Class 1a is composed entirely of kinship terms which are not prefixed with the Class 1 prefix. These nouns use the same augment and trigger concord patterns that are identical to those of Class 1 nouns, and they take Class 2 prefixes in the plural. Some examples are given below:

- (5) *ukúúhu*,      *avakúúhu*  
       u-kúúhu      a-va-kuuhu  
       AUG.1-grandfather      AUG.2-CL2-grandfather  
       ‘grandfather, grandfathers’
- (6) *uyúúva*,      *avayúúva*  
       u-yuuva      a-va-yuuva  
       AUG.1-mother      AUG.2-CL2-mother  
       ‘mother, mothers’
- (7) *umááma*,      *avamááma*  
       u-maama      a-va-maama  
       AUG.1-older sibling      AUG.2-CL2-older sibling  
       ‘older sibling, older siblings’

Anthropomorphized animals in folktales never take the noun class prefix of Class 1/2 nouns; however they do take the Class 1/2 augments (*u-* and *a-*) and they trigger Class 1/2 concord patterns:

- (8) *Umwééne*      *ulífifi*      *adiíndile*      *amíiho*.  
 u-mweene      u-li-fifi      a-diind-ile      a-ma-iho  
 AUG.1-CL1.PRO    AUG.1-CL5-hyena    CL1-close-FV    AUG.6-CL6-eye  
 ‘Hyena himself, he closed his eyes.’

(08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*, line 028)

In the example above, the hyena receives the Class 1 augment *u-* rather than the normal Class 5 augment *i-*. Further, the subject prefix on the verb *a-* is a Class 1 prefix (not the Class 5 subject prefix *li-*). (For further discussion of this phenomenon, see Chapter 5).

#### 4.1.1.2 Classes 3/4

Classes 3 and 4 show significantly less semantic cohesion than do Classes 1 and 2. However, some general tendencies can be observed. Class 3/4 nouns include plants and their products, some food items, body parts, some landscape terms, and some objects and tools. The Class 3 prefix is *mu-* (sometimes pronounced *m-*; *mw-* before vowels) and Class 3 nouns are singular. The plural of Class 3 nouns is Class 4 and these nouns are prefixed with *mi-* (*my-* before vowels). Several examples are given below:

- (9) *múdzoombe*,      *mídzoombe*  
 mu-dzoombe      mi-dzoombe  
 CL3-tree.species    CL4-tree species  
 ‘type of tree, type of tree (PL)’
- (10) *mwíína*,      *míína*  
 mu-ina      mi-ina  
 CL3-hole      CL4-hole  
 ‘hole, holes’
- (11) *mwááha*,      *myááha*  
 mu-aha      mi-aha  
 CL3-year      CL4-year  
 ‘year, years’



Some borrowings are also included in Class 3/4. For example, *mutuha* ‘car’ borrowed from English “motorcar” (perhaps via Swahili “motokaa”) is included in Class 3/4.

#### 4.1.1.3 Classes 5/6

Class 5 nouns are prefixed with *li-* (*ly-* before vowels); they take their plurals in Class 6. The noun class prefix for Class 6 nouns is *ma-*. Nouns belonging to these classes are difficult to classify semantically. Among those nouns included in Class 5/6 are some animals (mostly medium- or large-sized), some insects, some plants, some objects, a number of body parts, and some landscape and weather terms. A few examples of Class 5/6 nouns are given below:

- |      |                  |                 |
|------|------------------|-----------------|
| (12) | <i>ligaanga,</i> | <i>mágaanga</i> |
|      | li-gaanga        | ma-gaanga       |
|      | CL5-rock         | CL6-rock        |
|      | ‘rock, rocks’    |                 |
| (13) | <i>líiho,</i>    | <i>míiho</i>    |
|      | li-iho           | ma-iho          |
|      | CL5-eye          | CL6-eye         |
|      | ‘eye, eyes’      |                 |

Class 5/6 can also be used to form the augmentative of nouns inherently belonging to other classes. For further discussion of this, see 4.1.6.1.1.1.

#### 4.1.1.4 Classes 7/8

The noun class prefix for Class 7 nouns is *hi-* (*hy-* before vowels). Class 8 nouns (the plural of Class 7 nouns) are prefixed with *fi-* (*fy-* before vowels). Semantically, the

vast majority of Class 7/8 nouns are objects and animals (mostly smaller and medium-sized). Some body parts are also included in Class 7/8.

- (14) *híinu*,                      *fíinu*  
       hi-nu                      fi-nu  
       CL7-thing                CL8-thing  
       ‘thing, things’

- (15) *hyáála*,                    *fyáála*  
       hi-aala                    fi-aala  
       CL7-finger                CL8-finger  
       ‘finger, fingers’

Some borrowings (particularly from Swahili) are also included in Class 7/8. For example, *hidzidzi* ‘village’ is a Class 7 noun borrowed from Swahili *kijiji*. Class 7/8 can also be used as a diminutive (see 4.1.6.1.1.2).

#### 4.1.1.5 Classes 9/10

Classes 9/10 contain a wide variety of nouns. Included in these classes are miscellaneous objects, some animals, some body parts, crops, geographic features, and many borrowings (from Swahili and other languages, particularly English and German). The noun class prefix utilized by most Class 9/10 nouns is a nasal which harmonizes in place with the following consonant (2.4.4.1). The noun class prefix for Class 9 nouns (singular) is identical to that of Class 10 nouns (plural). Thus the only way to determine number of Class 9/10 nouns is by observing concord on other elements in the noun phrase.

- (16) *imbaata*                      *yímwí,*                      *imbaata*                      *dzítvíli*  
i-N-baata                      yi-mwi                      i-N-baata                      dzi-víli  
AUG.9-CL9-impala    CL9-one                      AUG.10-CL10-impala    CL10-two  
‘one impala, two impala’
- (17) *indiílo*                      *tyí,*                      *indiílo*                      *ídzi*  
i-N-diílo                      iyi                      i-N-diílo                      idzi  
AUG.9-CL9-basket    PROX.DEM.9                      AUG.10-CL10-basket    PROX.DEM.10  
‘this basket, these baskets’
- (18) *ingóóndza*                      *yéésu,*                      *ingóóndza*                      *dzéésu*  
i-N-goondza                      yi-eesu                      i-N-goondza                      dzi-eesu  
AUG.9-CL9-harvest    CL9-1PL.POSS                      AUG.10-10-harvest    CL10-1PL.POSS  
‘our harvest, our harvests’
- (19) *nyiingo*    *yá*                      *mmene,*                      *nyiingo*    *dzá*                      *mmene*  
i-N-yiingo    yi-a                      N-mene                      N-yiingo    dzi-a                      N-mene  
CL9-skin    CL9-ASSOC    CL9-goat                      CL10-skin    CL10-ASSOC    CL10-goat  
‘the goat’s skin, the goats’ skins’

Many of the nouns that belong to Class 9/10 do not have a noun class prefix. But they do use the Class 9/10 augment (*i-* in both singular and plural) and trigger Class 9/10 nominal concord.

- (20) a. *iseenga*                      *yáángu,*                      b. *iseenga*                      *dzáángu*  
i-seenga                      yi-aangu                      i-seenga                      dzi-aangu  
AUG.9-cow                      CL9-1SG.POSS                      AUG.10- cow                      CL10-1SG.POSS  
‘my cow’                      ‘my cows’
- (21) a. *ikááya*                      *yílla,*                      b. *ikááya*                      *dzílla*  
i-kaaya                      yi-la                      i-kaaya                      dzi-la  
AUG.9-house    DIST.DEM.9                      AUG.10- house    DIST.DEM.10  
‘that house’                      ‘those houses’

Class 9/10 also includes a number of borrowings from other languages. These nouns do not have a noun class prefix, but they do trigger Class 9/10 agreement patterns. Several examples are given below:

BENA	GLOSS	ORIGIN
<i>lefáni</i>	‘spoon’	German Löffel
<i>teembéli</i>	‘church’	English temple
<i>sibitali</i>	‘hospital’	English hospital <sup>4</sup>
<i>silihaali</i>	‘government’	Swahili serikali

Table 4.3 Some Class 9/10 borrowings

## 4.1.1.6 Class 11

Most of the nouns which belong to Class 11 are inanimate objects (both collective and individuated) and abstract nouns. Class 11 nouns are prefixed with *lu-*. Unlike nouns from the classes discussed up until this point, Class 11 nouns do not have a single consistent pluralization pattern. The majority of Class 11 nouns have no plural. Some take their plurals in Class 6; others in Class 10. For those nouns which do have plurals, speakers seem to differ considerably with respect to whether to pluralize using Class 6 or Class 10, though Class 10 seems to be more common. Several examples of Class 11 nouns and their plurals (if they exist) are given below:

- (22) *luhála*  
 lu-hála  
 CL11-intelligence  
 ‘intelligence’

- (23) *lúúhi*  
 lu-hi  
 CL11-honey  
 ‘honey’

<sup>4</sup> This is a result of morphological reanalysis. *Husibitali* is reanalyzed as a locative Class 17 prefix followed by the noun *sibitali*.

- (24) *lúdzidzi*,                      *ńdzidzi*  
       lu-dzidzi                      N-dzidzi  
       CL11-rope                    CL10-rope  
       ‘rope, ropes’
- (25) *luhóómbó*,                      *mahóómbó*  
       lu-hoombo                      ma-hoombo  
       CL11-payment                      CL6-payment  
       ‘payment, payments’

#### 4.1.1.7 Classes 12/13

Classes 12 and 13 are only used as diminutives; no nouns inherently belong to these classes. Class 12 has a prefix of *ha-* and is used for singular nouns; Class 13 nouns are plural and are prefixed with *tu-*.

- (26) a. *língodofu*,    *mángodofu*                      b. *hángodofu*    *túngodofu*  
       li-ngodofu    ma-ngodofu                      ha-ngodofu    tu-ngodofu  
       CL5-frog    CL6-frog                      CL12-frog    CL13-frog  
       ‘frog, frogs’                      ‘small/tiny frog, small/tiny frogs’
- (27) a. *mwáána*,    *váána*                      b. *háána*                      *twáána*  
       mu-ana    va-ana                      ha-ana                      tu-ana  
       CL1-child    CL2-child                      CL12-child    CL13-child  
       ‘child, children’                      ‘small/tiny child, small/tiny children’

Some nouns take on a special meaning when they are used in Class 12/13. For example, *hadóódo* (based on the adjective root *-doodo* ‘small’) means “younger twin” or “pinkie finger”. *Havína* (based on the adjective root *-vina* ‘big’) refers to the elder twin.

#### 4.1.1.8 Class 14

Class 14 is composed of mass nouns. The Class 14 prefix is *wu-*.

(28) *wubága*  
 wu-bága  
 CL14-porridge  
 ‘porridge’

(29) *wéénde*  
 wu-ende  
 CL14-love  
 ‘love’

In addition to nouns which belong inherently to Class 14, Class 14 nouns can be derived from other nouns or from adjectives. The resultant meaning is usually “the quality of being X”.

(30) a.	<i>-debe</i>	b.	<i>wúdebe</i>
	debe		wu-debe
	small		CL14-small
	‘small’		‘smallness’

(31) a.	<i>mwáána</i>	b.	<i>wáána</i>
	u-mu-ana		wu-ana
	CL1-child		CL14-child
	‘child’		‘childhood’

Class 14 nouns rarely take a plural. Two Class 14 nouns which have plural forms are found in the current data set. One of these takes a Class 6 plural; the other takes a Class 10 plural. Both examples are given below.

(32) <i>wóóva,</i>	<i>móóva</i>
wu-ova	ma-ova
CL14-mushroom	CL6-mushroom
‘mushroom, mushrooms’	

(33) <i>wúúma,</i>	<i>ndzúúma</i>
wu-uma	N-uma
CL14-wire	CL10-wire
‘wire, wires’	

Speakers noted that for both of these examples, the singular is much more normal than the plural. In particular, the plural *amoova* ‘mushrooms’ is rarely used. When it is used, it generally has a derogatory connotation—‘bad or poisonous mushrooms’.

#### 4.1.1.9 Class 15

As in most Bantu languages, Class 15 is composed entirely of verbal infinitives. No other nouns belong to this class. Class 15 nouns can take the augment and like other nouns they trigger nominal concord if they are modified by other elements, such as adjectives, demonstratives, or possessives (though this is fairly rare). Several examples of Class 15 nouns are given below:

- |      |  |   |
|------|--|---|
| (34) | <i>húnyila</i><br>hu-nyil-a<br>CL15-run-FV<br>‘my running’                         | <i>hwáángu</i><br>hu-aangu<br>CL15-1SG.POSS |
| (35) | <i>hoogófya</i><br>hu-ogófy-a<br>CL15-scare-FV<br>‘to scare, scaring’              |   |
| (36) | <i>hwiinatíla</i><br>hu-inatíl-a<br>CL15-consider-FV<br>‘to consider, considering’ |   |

#### 4.1.1.10 Classes 16, 17, and 18

Classes 16, 17, and 18 are locative classes. Unlike other noun classes, prefixation in the locative classes is additive rather than substitutive. In other words, the locative prefix is added to the noun before the existing noun class prefix. Thus the locative noun

has two noun class prefixes, rather than one. Classes 16 and 17 both indicate ‘at’ or ‘on’ while Class 18 is used for ‘in’ or ‘inside’. Several examples are given below:

- |         |   |    |   |    |   |
|---------|---|----|---|----|---|
| (37) a. | <i>pamúkoga</i><br>pa-mu-koga<br>CL16-CL3-river<br>‘at the river’   | b. | <i>humúkoga</i><br>hu-mu-koga<br>CL17-CL3-river<br>‘at the river’         | c. | <i>mumúkoga</i><br>mu-mu-koga<br>CL18-CL3-river<br>‘in the river’   |
| (38) a. | <i>pandiilo</i><br>pa-N-diilo<br>CL16-CL9-basket<br>‘on the basket’ | b. | <i>hundiilo</i><br>hu-N-diilo<br>CL17-CL9-basket<br>‘on/above the basket’ | c. | <i>mundiilo</i><br>mu-N-diilo<br>CL18-CL9-basket<br>‘in the basket’ |

Class 16 is generally more precise in reference and indicates closer proximity than Class 17, though for many speakers the distinction between the two has become blurred and they claim that Classes 16 and 17 are completely interchangeable. When pressed to give a difference between Class 16 and 17, speakers are usually inconsistent and differ with one another. However speakers seem to agree that in the vertical dimension, Classes 16 and 17 do have contrasting meanings. Use of the Class 16 prefix indicates that one object is on top of (and either touching or quite close to) another. Class 17, on the other hand, indicates that the first object is somewhere above (and definitely not touching) the other:

- |         |  |    |  |
|---------|--|----|--|
| (39) a. | <i>palibíhi</i><br>pa-li-bihi<br>CL16-CL5-tree<br>‘on top of the tree’ | b. | <i>hulibíhi</i><br>hu-li-bihi<br>CL17-CL5-tree<br>‘above the tree’ |
|---------|--|----|--|

It is also possible to use Classes 16, 17, and 18 in expressions of time:



- (40) *Pamwááandi, aali pwaali ungamusude nú ng'waale.*  
 pa-mwaandi aa-li pa-P<sub>4</sub>-li u-ngamu-sude nu N-kwale  
 CL16-long.ago P<sub>4</sub>-COP CL16-PAST-COP AUG-clever-hare and CL9-pheasant  
 'Once upon a time there was a clever hare and a pheasant.'

(08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3, Line 001*)

- (41) *Humyááha igya hútało,*  
 hu-mi-aha i-gi-a hu-talo,  
 CL17-CL4-year AUG-CL4-ASSOC CL17-future  
 'In future years...'

(08Oct02c, *The Price of Eggs, Line 026*)

- (42) *Ndidziíndiye pádebe, mumilúúngu gídatu ndiváánga*  
 ndi-dziind-il-ile pa-debe mu-mi-luungu gi-datu ndi-vaang-a  
 1SG-wait-APPL-FV CL16-little CL18-CL4-week CL4-three 1SG-begin-FV

*húbita hukaatíla.*  
 hu-bit-a hu-kaatil-a  
 CL15-go-FV CL15-weed-FV

'If I've waited a little, in three weeks I begin to go and weed.'

(08Oct16a, *Times of Planting, Line 059*)

Verbal infinitives can be prefixed with a Class 18 prefix. When this happens a verbal stem has two prefixes—the Class 15 (infinitival) prefix occurs closer to the stem and is preceded by the Class 18 prefix. This is preceded by the verbal copula *li*. This construction is used to indicate progressive aspect:

- (43) *Hale tidziliwéne na lisiimba lili muhúliya mumuguunda.*  
 hale ti-dzi-li-wen-e na li-siimba li-li mu-hu-liy-a mu-mu-guunda  
 AUX 1PL-ITV-CL5- and CL5-lion CL5-COP CL18-CL15-eat-FV CL18-CL3-field  
 saw-FV

'We (went and) met a lion, he was eating in the field.'

(08Oct31a, *Don't Eat the Tubers, Line 051*)

This construction is discussed in further detail in 5.2.3.2.1.

There are a few nouns which belong inherently to one of the locative classes. For these nouns, there is only a single noun class prefix. Among the nouns belonging

inherently to a locative class are *hwivala* ‘outside’, *mugati* ‘inside’, and *poono* ‘place’.

Locative class nouns cannot receive a second locative class prefix. Thus, for example *huhwivala* (containing two Class 17 prefixes) is ungrammatical.

#### 4.1.1.11 Class 20

The final noun class is Class 20. This class is used solely for augmentatives; there are no nouns which belong inherently to this class. Use of the Class 20 prefix (*gu-*) indicates augmentation (in size). Further, Class 20 nouns generally carry with them a derogatory connotation. Below are some examples of Class 20 nouns:

- |      |    |  |    |   |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| (44) | a. | <i>lingodofu</i><br>lí-ngodofu<br>CL5-frog<br>‘frog’ | b. | <i>gúngodofu</i><br>gu-ngodofu<br>CL20-frog<br>‘big, mean frog’ |
| (45) | a. | <i>mubihi</i><br>mu-bihi<br>CL3-tree<br>‘tree’       | b. | <i>gubihi</i><br>gu-bihi<br>CL20-tree<br>‘large tree’           |

#### 4.1.2 Semantics of Bena noun classes

Each of the above descriptions of the noun classes in Bena mentions some of the semantic characteristics of nouns belonging inherently to the class. It has been observed by Bantu linguists that there are some semantic motivations behind noun classes.

Katamba (2003) notes, for example, that human beings almost always occur in Classes 1/2, and particular classes are generally used for diminutives and augmentatives. He also observes other tendencies (many plants occur in Classes 3/4, for example) but notes that any attempt to completely motivate noun class assignment on the basis of semantics is

impossible. Similar observations are made by Worsley (1954) and Maho (2003). Most Bantuists seem to agree that Proto-Bantu may have had semantic motivations for some noun classes, but most of these have been lost (with the exception of Class 1/2 nouns, which almost always seem to be people<sup>5</sup>).

Generalizations about the semantics of Bena noun classes are similar to those which have been made for other Bantu languages. With the exception of Class 1/2 nouns, semantic generalizations indicate that nouns of a particular semantic type tend to fall into certain noun classes, but those classes do not exclude nouns of other semantic types from occurring in them. For example, plants tend to occur in Class 3/4 (and sometimes in Class 5/6), but Class 3/4 also contains many other nouns. Semantic observations on noun classes in Bena are summarized below:

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<sup>5</sup> Maho (1999) notes that Classes 1 and 2 may also include personified animals. This is particularly common in folktales. In Bena, personified animals do not take the Class 1/2 noun class prefixes; however they do receive the Class 1/2 augments and they trigger Class 1/2 agreement patterns.

CLASS	SEMANTIC GENERALIZATIONS
1/2	Humans
3/4	Body parts, plants and their products, some landscape terms, other
5/6	Food, body parts, animals (usually medium- or large-sized), insects, some plants, some landscape and weather terms, other
6	Augmentative, either in size (fat) or number (many), or both
7/8	Animals (especially smaller and medium-sized animals), some diminutives (though not as small as Class 12/13), objects, a few body parts, borrowings (especially from Swahili), other
9/10	Crops (collective-type plants), abstract nouns, objects, some animals, some body parts, geographic features, borrowings, other
11	Some collective items, objects, other
12/13	Diminutives (smaller than Class 7/8 diminutives)
14	Collectives
15	Verbal infinitives
16	Location (indefinite)
17	Location (definite)
18	Location (inside)
20	Augmentatives

Table 4.4 Semantics of Bena noun classes

Noun classes may be manipulated by a speaker to gain more meaning specificity. Thus, for example, *liléme* (with the Class 5 prefix /li-/) refers to a person's belly, while *mwiléme* (with the Class 18 prefix /mu-/) refers only to the inside of a person's stomach. Similarly, the stem *-gwiíngwi* 'centipede' has a number of manifestations: *ligwiíngwi* (a fairly big centipede), *higwiíngwi* (an average-sized centipede), *hagwiíngwi* (a small centipede), *gugwiíngwi* (a large and particularly nasty centipede). Noun-noun derivation through noun class shift is discussed further in 4.1.6.1.

Speakers can also take advantage of the noun class system in order to aid in referent tracking. During the course of data collection, a number of speakers were asked to narrate the story "One Frog Too Many", a picture book by Mercer Mayer. Usually the lexeme 'frog' belongs to Class 5 (*língodofu*). But because there are two frogs in the story

(a little frog and a big frog), speakers typically assign these two frogs to different noun classes in order to distinguish them:

- (46) *Ahángodofu*      *hadóódo,*      *ilíngodofu*      *likómi,*      *nali*  
a-ha-ngodofu      ha-doodo      i-li-ngodofu      li-komi      na-li  
AUG.12-CL12-frog      CL12-small      AUG.5-CL5-frog      CL5-big      and-CL5
- libwa*      *lili*      *báho na*      *ligóbe.*  
li-bwa      li-li      baho na      li-gobe  
CL5-dog      CL5-COP      here and      CL5-turtle  
‘The little frog, the big frog, and the dog are here with the turtle.’  
(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many*: CM, line 037)

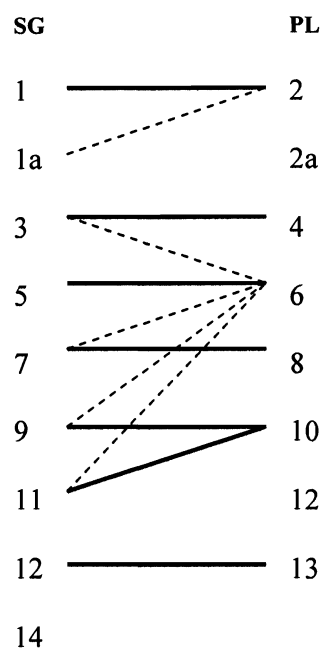
Speakers also manipulate the noun class system in order to comment on a particular referent. For example, a hare may be referred to as *súde* ‘hare’ throughout much of a story, however after this hare has done something bad, the speaker may switch and refer to the hare as *gusúde* ‘bad hare’ (with the Class 20 prefix).

#### 4.1.3 Singular/plural pairings

In Bena, there are 19 noun classes; these group into 12 different singular-plural pairings. The most common<sup>6</sup> pairings are 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10, 11-6, and 12/13 (all pairings which are fairly common in Bantu, see Maho 1999). These are summarized in the following table (less common pairings are drawn with a dashed line):<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> “Common” here is taken to mean, for a given singular class, in which noun class are the corresponding plurals found most frequently? For example, the database has plurals listed for 74 Class 11 nouns. Of these, 62 belong to Class 10; only 12 belong to Class 6. Therefore the 11/10 pairing is more common than the 11/6 pairing.

<sup>7</sup> Note that Class 15 (verbal infinitives) and Classes 16, 17, and 18 (locatives) are not included here because these noun classes do not have singular-plural pairings. Class 20 is also not included because it is only used for augmentatives (in the singular only).



**Table 4.5 Noun class pairings**

Maho (1999) does not give any noun class pairings for Bena, however, the pairings listed above are similar (but not identical) to those that he lists for Hehe (G62) and Pangwa (G64):

BENA	HEHE (MAHO 1999)	PANGWA (MAHO 1999)
1/2	1/2	1/2
1a/2		
3/4	3/4	3/4
3/6	3/6	
5/6	5/6	5/6
7/8	7/8	7/8
7/6		
9/10	9/10	9/10
9/6		
11/6	11/6	
11/10	11/10	
		12/8
12/13	12/13	12/13
(14/6) <sup>8</sup>	14/6	14/6
(14/10)		

**Table 4.6 Singular-plural pairings in Bena, Hehe, and Pangwa**

All of the common singular-plural pairings in Bena that were listed in Table 4.5 Noun class pairings Table 4.5 are shared by both Hehe and Pangwa. Those singular-plural pairings in Bena that do not have counterparts in the other two languages all involve the Class 6 plural (with the exception of 1a/2 which is a fairly common pairing and which Maho does not list for any language). As discussed in 4.1.1.3 above, Class 6 plurals may be used with nouns from other classes when speakers want to indicate an unusually large number of entities.

#### 4.1.4 Noun class conflict resolution

Verbs are marked with the noun class of their subjects (see 5.2.2). When a subject is singular, the verb is marked simply with the subject marker of the corresponding noun class. The situation is more complicated when a subject consists of two coordinated NPs.

<sup>8</sup> The 14/6 and 14/10 pairings are given in parentheses because they are so rare in Bena.

The choice of which noun class to mark on the verb is known as “noun class (or gender) conflict resolution” (Givón 1970). This section describes subject agreement patterns when various types of NPs are coordinated.

When a subject consists of two coordinated NPs belonging to the same noun class, the subject marker is simply the corresponding plural class:

- (47) *Umuhiindza numudiimi vahéle husúúle.*  
 u-mu-hindza na=u-mu-diimi va-hel-e hu-suule  
 AUG.1-CL1-girl and=AUG.1-CL1-boy CL2-go-FV CL17-school  
 ‘The girl and boy have gone to school.’
- (48) *Ilibihi nilisóli gihwááha.*  
 i-li-bihi na=i-li-soli ga-i-hu-aah-a  
 AUG.5-CL5-tree and=AUG.5-CL5-grass CL6-PRES-E-burn-FV  
 ‘The tree and the grass are burning.’

When a subject consists of two or more non-human nouns belonging to different classes, the subject marker is always Class 8 (regardless of whether or not any of the nouns are animate).

- (49) *Ihideego nuwusága fili úhu.*  
 i-hi-deego na=u-wu-saga fi-li uhu  
 AUG.7-CL7-chair and=AUG.14-CL14-bed CL8-COP there  
 ‘The chair and the bed are over there.’
- (50) *Amádziva nulúleenga fihelúha.*  
 a-ma-dziva na=u-lu-lenga fi-heluh-a  
 AUG.6-CL6-milk and=AUG.11-CL11-water CL8-boil-FV  
 ‘The milk and water are boiling.’
- (51) *Isúde nilífifi fihikála mudáási.*  
 i-sude na=i-li-fifi fi-hikal-a mu-daasi  
 AUG.9-hare and=AUG.5-CL5-hyena CL8-live-FV CL18-forest  
 ‘The hare and hyena live in the forest.’

When a subject consists of a human and another animate non-human, agreement is with Class 2 (human plural):



- (52) *Ilibwa numudiími víikina.*  
 i-li-bwa na=u-mu-díími va-i-kin-a  
 AUG.5-CL5-dog and=AUG.1-CL1-boy CL2-PRES-play-FV  
 'The dog and the boy are playing.'

When a human and inanimate object occur together as a subject, agreement is with the human noun (Class 1, or Class 2 if the human noun is plural):

- (53) *Uyúúva nindiílo ali húla.*  
 u-yúúva na=i-N-díílo a-li húla  
 AUG.1-woman and=AUG.10-CL10-basket CL1-COP DIST.DEM.17  
 'The woman and the basket are over there.'

In reality, however, coordinated NPs involving combinations of human and non-human subjects are generally avoided by using a comitative construction, as in the following example:<sup>9</sup>

- (54) *Umwáána yúla iheegága nilibwa na ligóbe humugóóngo.*  
 u-mu-ana yúla i-heeg-ag-a na=i-li-bwa na li-góbe hu-mu-gongo  
 AUG.1- DIST.DEM.1 CL1-depart- and=AUG.5- and CL5-turtle CL17-CL3-back  
 CL1-child NARR-FV CL5-dog  
 'That child left with the dog and the turtle behind.'

(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM, line 091*)

Similar observations have been made for other Bantu languages. In Haya (JE22), for example, Kageyama (1977, quoted in Katamba 2003) claims that speakers prefer to use comitative constructions to avoid coordination of human and non-human NPs.

<sup>9</sup> One possible explanation for this is that the semantics of the coordinator rules out the possibility of conjoining a human with a non-human. This explanation is ruled out in (56) and (57), where conjoining a human NP with a non-human NP is perfectly acceptable.

Behavior of coordinated NP objects is similar (though not the same) as that of subjects. As with subjects, when two NPs belonging to the same noun class are coordinated, object marking (if it occurs) is with the corresponding plural class:

- (55) *Ndihuváwona*                      *umudíimi*                      *numuhiíndza.*  
 ndi-hu-va-won-a                      u-mu-díimi                      na=u-mu-hindza  
 1SG-E-CL2.OBJ-see-FV                      AUG.1-CL1-boy                      and=AUG.1-CL1-girl  
 'I see the boy and girl.'

However when an object consists of a human NP paired with a non-human NP, object marking is with the NP occurring closest to the verb:

- (56) *Ndihulfwona*                      *ilibwa*                      *numudíimi.*  
 ndi-hu-li-won-a                      i-li-bwa                      na=u-mu-diimi  
 1SG-E-CL5.OBJ-see-FV                      AUG.5-CL5-dog                      and=AUG.1-CL1-boy  
 'I see the boy and dog.'

Example (57) shows a non-human (*ilibwa* 'dog') coordinated with a human (*umudíimi* 'boy'). The coordinated NPs serve as objects of the first clause and subjects of the second. Object marking in the first clause agrees with *ilibwa* 'dog' (the NP closest to the verb); in the second clause, the subject is Class 2:

- (57) *Ndihulfwona*                      *ilibwa*                      *numudíimi*                      *víikina.*  
 ndi-hu-li-won-a                      i-li-bwa                      na=u-mu-diimi                      va-i-kin-a  
 1SG-E-CL5.OBJ-see-FV                      AUG.5-CL5-dog                      and=AUG.1-CL1-boy                      CL2-PRES-play-FV  
 'I see the dog and the boy playing.'

#### 4.1.5 Augment

The augment takes the form of a vowel that occurs before the noun class prefix on a noun. In the following example, (a) is augmentless; (b) contains the augment:

- (58) a. *múúnu*  
           mu-nu  
           CL1-person  
           ‘person’
- b. *umúúnu*  
      u-mu-nu  
      AUG.1-CL1-person  
      ‘person’

In addition to occurring on nouns the augment may occur on other elements in the noun phrase. Though use of the augment is fairly common across Bantu languages, its behavior differs considerably from language to language and is generally dependent on a combination of syntactic, pragmatic, semantic, morphological, and even phonological criteria (Hyman and Katamba 1993). Numerous scholars have noted that accounting for the behavior of the augment is particularly difficult in Bantu. (See, for example Hyman and Katamba’s 1993 analysis of the augment in Luganda, and Petzell’s 2003 and 2008 descriptions of the behavior of the Kagulu augment.) As deBlois (1970) showed in his survey of augment behavior in over 90 Bantu languages, augment behavior is extremely complex and in no two languages are the set of factors licensing presence or absence of the augment identical.

It is difficult to characterize the behavior of the augment in Bena for a number of reasons. First, as in other Bantu languages, the augment seems to be conditioned by a complex interplay of factors. Secondly, Bena speakers disagree with respect to grammaticality judgments of sentences containing nouns and other elements appearing with and without the augment. At this point, it is impossible to tell whether these differences arise for dialectal reasons, personal preference, or uncertainty about whether or not the augment occurs in a given situation. Even a single speaker will provide inconsistent answers with respect to the grammaticality of constituents appearing with

and without the augment. Such uncertainty and inconsistency is much greater with augment behavior than it is with any other aspect of Bena grammar. Finally, the rapidly increasing prominence and use of Swahili (an augment-less language) among Bena speakers seems to have impacted augment use, particularly among younger speakers. Though the younger speakers do continue to use the augment, they do so with less frequency than older speakers.<sup>10</sup>

The following sections discuss the use of the augment in Bena. I begin with a description of the form of the augment in Bena and what types of constituents it can occur on. Following this is a more specific analysis of the behavior of the augment in Bena. I show that in Bena, the augment is primarily conditioned by topicality and referentiality.

#### 4.1.5.1 The form of the augment

The augment in Bena takes the form of a vowel that occurs immediately before the noun class prefix on nouns. In some situations, it can also occur on other elements in the noun phrase such as adjectives or the associative (see 4.2.5).

- |      |    |   |    |   |
|------|----|---|----|---|
| (59) | a. | <i>mubíhi</i><br>mu-bihi<br>CL3-tree<br>'tree'                                      | b. | <i>umubíhi</i><br>u-mu-bihi<br>AUG.3-CL3-tree<br>'tree'   |
| (60) | a. | <i>kááye</i> <i>ndebe</i><br>kaaye    N-debe<br>house    CL9-small<br>'small house' | b. | <i>ikááye</i> <i>indebe</i><br>i-kaaye    i-N-debe<br>AUG.9-house    AUG.9-CL9-small<br>'small house' |

<sup>10</sup> This assertion remains impressionistic at this point. Quantification of augment use among older and younger speakers has the potential to be an interesting study of generational shift.

- (61) a. *húnyila*  
 hu-nyil-a  
 CL15-run-FV  
 'to run'
- b. *uhúnyila*  
 u-hu-nyil-a  
 AUG.15-CL15-run-FV  
 'to run'

In (59) through (61) all of the (a) examples are augmentless; the (b) examples contain the augment.

The form of the augment is identical to the vowel of the noun class prefix. The only exception to this is Classes 9/10, where the noun class prefix is a syllabic nasal. Here, the form of the augment is *i-* (which is also identical to the vowel in the agreement class prefixes *yi-* and *dzi-*). Forms of the augment for each noun class are summarized in the following table:

CLASS	AUGMENT	CLASS	AUGMENT	CLASS	AUGMENT
<b>1</b>	<i>u-</i>	<b>8</b>	<i>i-</i>	<b>15</b>	<i>u-</i>
<b>2</b>	<i>a-</i>	<b>9</b>	<i>i-</i>	<b>16</b>	<i>a-</i>
<b>3</b>	<i>u-</i>	<b>10</b>	<i>i-</i>	<b>17</b>	<i>u-</i>
<b>4</b>	<i>i-</i>	<b>11</b>	<i>u-</i>	<b>18</b>	<i>u-</i>
<b>5</b>	<i>i-</i>	<b>12</b>	<i>a-</i>	<b>20</b>	<i>u-</i>
<b>6</b>	<i>a-</i>	<b>13</b>	<i>u-</i>		
<b>7</b>	<i>i-</i>	<b>14</b>	<i>u-</i>		

Table 4.7 Forms of the augment

In addition to nouns, augments can also occur on adjectives, numerals, the word *-ngi* 'other', and the associative, as shown in (62) through (65), respectively:

- (62) *ilibíhi*                      *ilídebe*  
 i-li-bihi                      i-li-debe  
 AUG.5-CL5-tree      AUG.5-CL5-small  
 'small tree'

- (63) *aváánu*                      *avávili*  
a-va-nu                      a-va-vili  
AUG.2-CL2-person    AUG.2-CL2-two  
‘two people’
- (64) *ulúbali*                      *uluungi*  
u-lu-bali                      u-lu-ngi  
AUG.11-CL11-side    AUG.11-CL11-other  
‘another side’
- (65) *ihivalilo*                      *ihya*                      *múnaana*  
i-hi-valilo                      i-hi-a                      munaana  
AUG.7-CL7-hour    AUG.7-CL7-ASSOC    eight  
‘the eighth hour (2pm)’

The augment never occurs on demonstratives, possessive pronouns, the quantifiers *-olofu* ‘many’, *-keefu* ‘few’, and *-onda* ‘all’, and the inflected interrogative *-hi* ‘which’ unless these are serving as the syntactic heads of NPs.

#### 4.1.5.2 The behavior of the augment in Bena

In Bena, augmentless nouns are the default, unmarked condition. Augmented nouns are marked; therefore it is necessary to explain the circumstances which license the presence of the augment. Augment presence in Bena is licensed by two primary factors: referentiality and topicality. A noun which is referential and topical will be marked with an augment. Non-referential, and non-topical nouns are augmentless. These two factors interact with one another; thus, for example, a noun that is non-referential but topical likely contains an augment. Each of these conditioning factors is discussed below.

#### 4.1.5.2.1 Referentiality

The first factor that conditions augment use in Bena is referentiality. Nouns which are non-referential tend not to occur with augments; referential nouns tend to occur with augments. Consider the word *hikóho* ‘animal’ in the following sentence:

- (66) *Ilitwíga*                      *hikóho*      *hya*                      *múdaasi*      *yiná*                      *singo*      *naali*.  
          i-li-twiga                      hi-koho      hi-a                      mu-daasi      yi-na                      siingo      N-taali  
          AUG.5-CL5-giraffe      CL7-animal      CL7-ASSOC      CL18-wild      CL9-have      neck      CL9-long  
          ‘The giraffe is a wild animal (that) has a long neck.’

In (66), *hikóho* ‘animal’ is non-referential. There is no specific animal which the speaker is referring to. Use of the augment (*ihikóho*) renders the sentence ungrammatical.

Other types of referential nouns such as personal names and referential kinship terms appear with the augment:

- (67) *UAnna*                      *asihumutembeléla*                      *UCatherin*<sub>L</sub>                      *ahumutembeléla*                      *UImara*  
          u-Anna                      a-si-hu-mu-tembel-el-a                      u-Catherin                      a-hu-mu-tembel-el-a                      U-Imara  
          AUG.1-                      CL1-NEG-E-CL1.OBJ-                      AUG.1-Catherin                      CL1-E-CL1.OBJ-visit-                      AUG.1-  
          Anna                      visit-APPL-FV                                           APPL-FV                      Imara  
          ‘Anna isn’t visiting Catherin, she’s visiting Imara.’

- (68) *Uyuuva*                      *iliisa*                      *aváána*.  
          u-yuuva                      a-i-liis-a                      a-va-ana  
          AUG.1-mother      CL1-PRES-feed-FV                      AUG.2-CL2-child  
          ‘Mother is feeding the children.’

#### 4.1.5.2.2 Topicality

Referentiality is not the only factor which conditions augment use. Consider the word *ilitwíga* ‘giraffe’ in the following sentence:

- (69) *Ilitwíga*                      *hikóho*      *hya*                      *múdaasi*      *yiná*                      *singo*      *naali*.  
          i-li-twíga                      hi-koho      hi-a                      mu-daasi      yi-na                      siingo      N-taali  
          AUG.5-CL5-giraffe      CL7-animal      CL7-ASSOC      CL18-wild      CL9-have      neck      CL9-long  
          ‘The giraffe is a wild animal (that) has a long neck.’

Here, *ilitwíga* ‘giraffe’ is not referring to a specific giraffe; rather it is referring to giraffes as a species. Even though it is non-referential, it must occur with the augment. This is because ‘giraffe’ is serving as the topic of the sentence, and in Bena, topics occur with augments.

In Bena, sentence-initial position is topical. Therefore elements which occur in sentence-initial position occur with an augment. Items which are fronted always occur with the augment (see 7.2.9.3 for a discussion of topic constructions). Consider the following sentence, where the verbal infinitive ‘to run’ is grammatical either with (*uhúnyila*) or without (*húnyila*) the augment:

- (70) *Asikééla*                      (*u*)*húnyila*.  
          a-si-keel-a                      (u)-hu-nyil-a  
          3SG-NEG-like-FV      (AUG.15)-CL15-run-FV  
          ‘S/he doesn’t like to run.’

When the verbal infinitive is fronted, it must occur with the augment. Thus in (71), use of the augmentless form *húnyila* is ungrammatical.

- (71) a. *Uhúnyila*                      *asikeela*.  
          u-hu-nyil-a                      a-si-keel-a  
          AUG.15-CL15-run-FV      3SG-NEG-like-FV  
          ‘Running, s/he doesn’t like it.’
- b. *\*Uhúnyila*                      *asikééla*.  
          u-hu-nyil-a                      a-si-keel-a  
          AUG.15-CL15-run-FV      3SG-NEG-like-FV



Other elements which normally occur without the augment must contain the augment when they are fronted (i.e., when they serve as topics). The following examples show fronting of the associative construction and a possessive pronoun, both of which do not usually contain augments, but must be augmented when they serve as NPs and are fronted:

- (72) *Ifya*                      *mudaasi*      *fye*              *fikóho*              *fila.*  
       i-fya                      mu-daasi      fye              fi-koho              fila  
       AUG.8-ASSOC.CL8    CL3-forest    CL8.REL    CL8-animal      DIST.DEM.CL8  
       ‘Ones of the forest (wild ones) are those animals.’

- (73) *Iyaangu*                      *ye*                      *kaaye*              *indebe.*  
       i-yi-angu                      ye                      kaaye              i-N-debe  
       AUG.9-CL9-1SG.POSS    CL9.REL              house              AUG.9-CL9-small  
       ‘Mine is the small house.’

#### 4.1.5.2.3 Other observations about augment behavior

A few other observations are worth making with respect to augment use. First, in a series of nouns, all nouns must match. In other words, either all nouns must appear without the augment, or all must appear with it. Thus in the following sentence, either all of the nouns must have an augment (74) or all must appear without it (75):

- (74) *Pe wibita huligulilo, uguláge ing'ówo, umukaate, nidoogi.*  
 pe u-i-bit-a hu-li-gulilo u-gul-ag-e i-ng'owo u-mu-kaate na=i-doogi  
 when 2SG-PRES- CL17-CL5- 2SG-buy- AUG- AUG-CL3-bread and=AUG-  
 go-FV market IPFV-FV banana bean  
 'When you go to the market, buy bananas, bread, and beans.'
- (75) *Pe wibita huligulilo, uguláge ng'ówo, mukaate, na doogi.*  
 pe u-i-bit-a hu-li-gulilo u-gul-ag-e ng'owo mu-kaate na doogi  
 when 2SG-PRES- CL17-CL5- 2SG-buy- banana CL3-bread and bean  
 go-FV market IPFV-FV  
 'When you go to the market, buy bananas, bread, and beans.'

When a noun is followed by a modifier, that modifier may also be marked with an augment. Use of the augment is most common on adjectives. If a noun marked with an augment is followed by an adjective, that adjective is also marked with an augment:

- (76) *Ikaaye indebe yila yaangu.*  
 i-kaaye i-N-debe yila yi-angu  
 AUG-house AUG-CL9-small DIST.DEM.CL9 CL9-1SG.POSS  
 'That small house is mine.'

Though speakers seem to prefer to use the augment on adjectives modifying augmented nouns, it is also grammatical to use an augmentless adjective (speakers indicated that there is no difference in meaning between an augmented and augmentless adjective here):

- (77) *Ikááye ndebe yila yaangu.*  
 i-kaaye N-debe yila yi-angu  
 AUG-house CL9-small DIST.DEM.CL9 CL9-1SG.POSS  
 'That small house is mine.'

However, it is ungrammatical to mark an adjective with an augment if the head noun does not also have an augment (this statement can be generalized across any modifiers occurring in the NP).

- (78) *\*kaaye      indebe      yila      yaangu.*  
       kaaye      i-N-debe      yila      yi-angu  
       house      AUG-CL9-small      DIST.DEM.CL9      CL9-1SG.POSS  
       attempted: 'That small house is mine.'

Though use of the augment on modifiers is most common with adjectives, numerals and the word *-ingi* 'other' follow the same pattern as that described for adjectives. Other modifiers (demonstratives, possessive pronouns, the associative, and the words *-olofu* 'many', *-keefu* 'few', *-onda* 'all', and *-hi* 'which') rarely take the augment, unless, as in (72) and (73) above they are serving syntactically as heads of NPs.

#### 4.1.5.2.4 Characterizing the augment: conclusions

The above discussion has shown some of the complexities of augment behavior in Bena. It should be emphasized that conclusions drawn here with respect to augment behavior are quite tentative; this is a topic that merits much more in-depth study. However it does seem apparent that the two most important factors conditioning augment use are referentiality and topicality. The greater a noun's referentiality and topicality, the more likely it is to occur with an augment.

#### 4.1.6 Nominal derivation

Nominal derivation is an extremely productive process in Bena. Nouns may be derived from other nouns, from adjectives, or from verbs. Nominal derivation can be accomplished via noun class substitution (in the case of noun-noun derivation), the

addition of a noun class prefix (when deriving nouns from other parts of speech), and/or the use of a number of different nominalizing suffixes.

#### 4.1.6.1 Noun-noun derivation

##### 4.1.6.1.1 Noun class shift

The simplest form of nominal derivation in Bena is done through noun class shift. In this process, the noun class prefix of a noun is replaced with a different noun class prefix, creating a different meaning. Augmentation and diminution are extremely productive processes of noun class shift and involve the use of Class 12/13 (diminutive) prefixes or Class 6 or 20 (augmentative) prefixes. Noun class shift to other classes is somewhat less productive and can involve nearly all of the other noun classes. Each type of noun class shift is discussed in detail in the following paragraphs.

##### 4.1.6.1.1.1. Augmentation

Augmentation through noun class shift occurs when a noun's original noun class prefix is replaced with a Class 5, 6, or 20 prefix. Class 5/6 prefixes can be used to indicate augmentation in size. In other words, a speaker may choose to use a Class 5/6 prefix with a noun that belongs inherently to another class in order to indicate larger than normal size. Thus, a noun such as *higwííngwi* (a Class 7 noun) refers to a centipede of a relatively normal size, but *ligwííngwi* (the same stem but with a Class 5 prefix) refers to a relatively large centipede.

Class 6 can also serve as the plural for nouns belonging to other classes. In addition to augmentation in size, use of a Class 6 plural for a noun which is normally pluralized in a different class can denote augmentation in number. Thus *magwíingwi* ‘centipedes’ can mean either ‘more than one rather large centipede’ or ‘an unusual number of (any size) centipedes’.

Class 20 is also used for augmentatives. Unlike Classes 5/6, there are no nouns which belong inherently to Class 20; augmentation of nouns belonging to other classes is the only function of Class 20. Unlike Class 6, the Class 20 prefix is used only for augmentation in size and cannot be used for augmentation in number. Class 20 nouns also have a derogatory connotation, and in some cases speakers use Class 20 derogatorily only, without implying augmentation in size.

- |      |    |  |    |   |
|------|----|--|----|---|
| (79) | a. | <i>língodofu</i><br>lí-ngodofu<br>CL5-frog<br>‘frog’ | b. | <i>gúngodofu</i><br>gu-ngodofu<br>CL20-frog<br>‘big, mean frog’ |
| (80) | a. | <i>súde</i><br>sude<br>hare<br>‘hare’                | b. | <i>gusúde</i><br>gu-sude<br>CL20-hare<br>‘mean hare’            |

#### 4.1.6.1.1.2. Diminution

Classes 7/8 and Classes 12/13 can all be used for diminution, though diminution with Classes 12/13 is more common. When Classes 7/8 and 12/13 are all used with the same noun stem, nouns prefixed with Class 12/13 prefixes are generally smaller than 7/8 nouns.

- (81) a. *mubíhi*, *mibíhi*  
 mu-bíhi mi-bíhi  
 CL3-tree CL4-tree  
 ‘tree, trees’
- b. *hibíhi*, *fibíhi*  
 hi-bíhi fi-bíhi  
 CL7-tree CL8-tree  
 ‘stick(s) or small/slender tree(s)’
- c. *habíhi*, *tubíhi*  
 ha-bíhi tu-bíhi  
 CL12-tree CL13-tree  
 ‘twig, twigs’

When Classes 7/8 are used as a diminutive, sometimes they take on a specialized meaning, as in the following example:

- (82) a. *mugúlu*, *migúlu*  
 mu-gulu mi-gulu  
 CL3-foot CL4-foot  
 ‘foot, feet’
- b. *higúlu*, *figúlu*  
 hi-gulu fi-gulu  
 CL7-foot CL8-foot  
 ‘toe, toes’

The following example illustrates use of all the augmentative/diminutive prefixes with a single stem *dege* ‘bird’<sup>11</sup>:

- (83) a. *hadége*, *tudége*  
 ha-dége tu-dége  
 CL12-bird CL13-bird  
 ‘tiny/baby bird(s)’
- b. *hidége*, *fidége*  
 hi-dége fi-dége  
 CL7-bird CL8-bird  
 ‘small bird(s)’
- c. *ndége*, *ndége*  
 N-dége N-dége  
 CL9-bird CL10-bird  
 ‘bird(s)’

<sup>11</sup> Speakers differ with respect to which of these forms is the “normal” sized bird. For some speakers *ndége* is a normal bird (as shown here); for others *hidege* or even *lidege* is the basic form. However, presented with all the forms given here, most speakers would agree with the scale described here.

- d. *lidége*      *madége*  
 li-dége      ma-dége  
 CL5-bird      CL6-bird  
 ‘large bird(s)’
- e. *gudége*  
 gu-dége  
 CL20-bird  
 ‘huge/bad bird’

#### 4.1.6.1.1.3. Other noun class shift

The final type of noun class shift does not involve augmentation or diminution. Instead, noun classes are shifted within other classes. For these nouns, it is not always possible to discern which noun class is the inherent class.

- (84) a. *múúnu*,      *váánu*      b. *híínu*,      *fíínu*  
 mu-nu      va-nu      hi-nu      fi-nu  
 CL1-person CL2-person      CL7-thing CL8-thing  
 ‘person, people’      ‘thing, things’
- (85) a. *Mubéna*,      *Vabéna*      b. *Hibéna*,      *Wubéna*  
 mu-bena      va-bena      hi-bena      wu-bena  
 CL1-bena      CL2-bena      CL7-bena      CL14-bena  
 ‘Bena person, Bena people’      ‘Bena language’      ‘the Bena speaking area’
- (86) a. *muváha*,      *vaváha*      b. *wuváha*  
 mu-vaha      va-vaha      wu-vaha  
 CL1-adult      CL2-adult      CL14-adult  
 ‘adult/elder, adults/elders’      ‘adulthood’

#### 4.1.6.2 Adjective-noun derivation

Nouns can be derived from adjectives by affixing the appropriate noun class prefix to the beginning of the adjective. This results in forms that are identical to adjectives, but the derived nouns can function as the head of an NP.

- (87) *manúúnu* ***madóódi***  
 ma-nuunu ma-doodi  
 CL6-fruit CL6-unripe  
 ‘unripe fruit’

- (88) *Umwééne* *ulífifi* *adíndile* *amíího,* *ííkova* ***madóódi.***  
 u-mweene u-li-fifi a-diind-ile a-ma-iho a-i-kov-a ma-doodi  
 AUG- AUG-CL5- CL1-close-FV AUG-CL6-eye CL1-PRES- CL6-unripe  
 CL1.PRO hyena pick-FV  
 ‘Hyena himself, he closed his eyes, and was picking the unripe ones (fruit).’  
*(08Sept01d, The Hare and the Hyena, line 028)*

In (87) above, *madóódi* ‘unripe’ serves as an adjective modifying the noun *manúúnu* ‘fruit’. However, in example (88), *madóódi* ‘unripe ones’ stands alone as a noun and functions as an object.

When a noun is derived from an adjective, the resultant meaning is a combination of the semantics of the noun class and the meaning of the adjective. Thus, for example, Class 1/2 nouns derived from adjectives have the meaning ‘person/people with the quality X’, Class 7/8 nouns are generally ‘thing/things with the quality X’, Class 14 nouns are ‘abstract nouns or places with the quality X’, etc. Sometimes the meaning of the derived noun is specific to the context in which it appears, as in (88) above. *Madóódi* ‘unripe ones’ uses the same noun class prefix as *manuunu* ‘fruit’ to show that the hyena is picking unripe fruit, though fruit is not explicitly mentioned. Several more examples of nouns from different classes which have been derived from adjectives are given below.



ADJECTIVE	GLOSS	DERIVED NOUN(S)	GLOSS	NOUN CLASS
<i>-debe</i>	'small'	<i>múdebe</i>	'younger sibling'	1
		<i>hádebe</i>	'younger twin'	12
		<i>wúdebe</i>	'smallness'	14
		<i>pádebe</i>	'small place/area'	16
<i>-nóno</i>	'sweet'	<i>wunóno</i>	'sweetness'	14
<i>-eelu</i>	'white'	<i>ndzéélu</i>	'white'	9
		<i>wéélu</i>	'whiteness, light'	14
<i>-onda</i>	'whole, all'	<i>vóónda</i>	'everybody'	2
		<i>hyóónda</i>	'the whole thing'	7
		<i>fyóónda</i>	'everything'	8
		<i>póónda</i>	'anywhere, anytime'	16

Table 4.8 Examples of adjective-noun derivation

#### 4.1.6.3 Verb-Noun Derivation

With the exception of verbal infinitives, derivation of nouns from verbs is accomplished in Bena through suffixation. This process is fairly widespread in Bantu languages. A template for verbs derived from nouns using the suffixal strategy is given below:

(89) (augment) - noun class prefix - verbal root - nominalizing suffix

There are several different suffixes which are used to derive nouns from verbs:

SUFFIX	SEMANTIC GENERALIZATIONS
<i>-i</i>	agents, results
<i>-o</i>	objects and tools, conceptual terms, body parts, other
<i>-e</i>	conceptual terms, some inanimate objects

Table 4.9 Nominalizing suffixes

Each of these nominalizing suffixes is discussed below.

The first suffix which is used to derive nouns from verbs is *-i*. Class 1/2 nouns that use the nominalizing *-i* are agentive; with other noun classes *-i* is used to derive results. Suffixation with *-i* triggers spirantization of the stem-final consonant; see 2.4.6 for discussion of this phonological process.

- |      |                     |   |   |
|------|---------------------|---|---|
| (90) | -dzeeng-<br>'build' | → | <i>mudzééndzi</i><br>mu-dzeeng-i<br>CL1-build-NMLZ<br>'builder' |
| (91) | -kwaamil-<br>'herd' | → | <i>mukwaamidzi</i><br>mu-kwaamil-i<br>CL1-herd-NMLZ<br>'boy'    |
| (92) | -húdz-<br>'strain'  | → | <i>luhúdzi</i><br>lu-hudz-i<br>CL11-strain-NMLZ<br>'sauce'      |
| (93) | -dés-<br>'lie'      | → | <i>wudési</i><br>wu-des-i<br>CL14-lie-NMLZ<br>'lie (N)'         |

The second suffix which can be used to derive nouns from verbs is *-o*. The types of nouns which are derived using this suffix form a much less coherent group semantically. This group includes various objects and tools, some conceptual terms, body parts, and other miscellaneous nouns.

- |      |                  |   |  |   |
|------|------------------|---|--|---|
| (94) | -génd-<br>'walk' | → | <i>ligééndo</i> ,<br>li-gend-o<br>CL5-walk-NMLZ<br>'thigh' | <i>lugééndo</i><br>lu-gend-o<br>CL11-walk-NMLZ<br>'journey' |
|------|------------------|---|--|---|

- (95)    -*hóp*-                      →    *hihópo*  
          ‘drink (something hot)’       hi-hóp-o  
                                        CL 1 I-drink-NMLZ  
                                        ‘hot beverage, tea’

There is at least one noun which uses the *-o* suffix but is derived from a quantifier:

- (96)    *-liing-*                    →    *lilingo*  
          ‘how many’                    li-liing-o  
   CL5-how.many-NMLZ  
   ‘age group’

A number of nouns (especially tools) which are derived from verbs using the *-o* suffix are derived from the applicative form of the verb.

- (97) *-gimil-* → *lugimílo*  
*gim-il*      *lu-gim-il-o*  
 dig-APPL      CL11-dig-APPL-NMLZ  
 ‘dig with’      ‘hoe’
- (98) *-fyaag-il-* → *lufyagilílo*  
*fyaag-il*      *lu-fyaagil-il-o*  
 sweep-APPL      CL11-sweep-APPL-NMLZ  
 ‘sweep with’      ‘broom’

The final group of nouns are derived using the suffix *-e*. This group of nouns includes primarily conceptual terms, but some items can be derived using this suffix as well.

- (99)    *-énd-*                    →    *wéénde*,                    *mwéénde*  
          ‘love’                                    *wu-énd-e*                    *mu-énd-e*  
  CL14-love-NMLZ                    CL1-love-NMLZ  
  ‘love’                                    ‘friend’

- (100) *-fw-* → *wúfwē*  
           ‘die’                      *wu-fw-e*  
    CL14-die-NMLZ  
    ‘death’
- (101) *-dind-* → *ndíinde*  
           ‘close’                      N-dínd-e  
    CL9-close-NMLZ  
    ‘jail’

Addition of the Class 15 prefix to a verbal macrostem<sup>12</sup> is another strategy used to derive nouns from verbs. Verbal infinitives are Class 15 nouns and display the same behavior properties of other nouns (see 4.1.1.9). Several examples of the formation of verbal infinitives are given in (102) through (105).

- (102) *húgona*  
       *hu-gon-a*  
       CL15-sleep-FV  
       ‘to sleep’
- (103) *hwáádza*  
       *hu-adz-a*  
       CL15-come-FV  
       ‘to come’
- (104) *humútova*  
       *hu-mu-tov-a*  
       CL15-CL.OBJ-hit-FV  
       ‘to hit him/her’
- (105) *hudindulíwa*  
       *hu-dind-ul-il-w-a*  
       CL15-close-SEP-APPL-PASS-FV  
       ‘to be opened by/with someone/something’

Verbal infinitives are also discussed in 5.2.1.

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<sup>12</sup> The macrostem is composed of a verbal stem plus any object prefixes.

#### 4.1.6.4 Compounding

Bena nouns may also be derived through compounding. Verb + noun compounding is by far the most common type of compounding. The second type of compounding is formed from the verbal *nya* (roughly glossed as ‘having’) and a noun. Noun-noun compounds are extremely rare, but some examples do exist in the current database. Finally, there are a number of nouns which appear to be historical compounds, but their origins are uncertain. Each type of compound is discussed below.

The following gives a general template for the formation of verb + noun compounds (where ‘noun class prefix<sub>1</sub>’ refers to the noun class of the compound noun and ‘noun class prefix<sub>2</sub>’ is the noun class of the noun component):

(106) (augment) – noun class prefix<sub>1</sub> – verb stem – noun class prefix<sub>2</sub> – noun stem

Note that the verbal portion of these compounds is a verbal stem and not a root. This means that the verbal portion may include various derivational suffixes (such as the applicative or causative, for example).

Several examples of V+N compounds are given below:

- |       |    |                                   |             |  |
|-------|----|-----------------------------------|-------------|--|
| (107) | a. | <i>ludagándonya</i> <sup>13</sup> | ‘rainbow’   | ( <i>dága</i> ‘drive out’ + <i>ndónya</i> ‘rain’)          |
|       | b. | <i>mukomaséénga</i>               | ‘butcher’   | ( <i>kóma</i> ‘kill’ + <i>séénga</i> ‘cow’)                |
|       | c. | <i>mulimilaváangi</i>             | ‘servant’   | ( <i>limila</i> ‘work for’ + <i>váangi</i> ‘other people’) |
|       | d. | <i>luvalamwéédzi</i>              | ‘moonrise’  | ( <i>vála</i> ‘shine’ + <i>mwéédzi</i> ‘moon’)             |
|       | e. | <i>mulimilahúvili</i>             | ‘hypocrite’ | ( <i>limila</i> ‘bite with’ + <i>húvili</i> ‘twice’)       |

Verbs which are found in nominal compounds can be either derived or underived. Thus *mulimilaváangi* ‘servant’ uses the verb *limila* ‘work for’, which itself is derived with an

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<sup>13</sup> *Lidagándonya* (with a Class 5 prefix rather than a Class 11 prefix) for some speakers.

applicative suffix (-*il*) from *lima* ‘work’. Following the verb stem is the noun. With the exception of nouns which have no noun class prefix (such as Class 9 *seenga* ‘cow’), the noun class prefix of the noun is always present.

Tone patterns for V+N compounds are the same as those of underived nouns in Bena (one single High tone per word). Tone is determined by the original tone of the noun; thus the verbal part of the compound is Low, and the placement of the High occurs in the original position in the noun. The only exception to this is nouns which have nouns from Class 9/10 nouns which bear tone on the nasal portion of an initial pre-nasalized consonant. For example, in the compound *ludagándonya* ‘rainbow’, the tone shifts from its original placement on the initial nasal of *ndonya* ‘rain’ to the preceding vowel.

All V+N compounds in the dataset are exocentric. Neither the verb nor the noun serves as the semantic head and the meaning of the compound cannot be predicted from the semantics of the verb and the noun alone. Further, as with other non-derived nouns, the noun class prefix contributes to the semantics of the compound. Therefore the semantic meaning of the compound combines the semantics of the verb, the noun, and the noun class prefix. Thus, for example, the compound *mukomaséenga* ‘butcher’ derives its meaning from a combination of *koma* ‘kill’ and *séenga* ‘cow’; the Class 1 prefix *mu-* provides the information that the noun is a person.

The second major type of compounding is extremely productive. Compounds utilizing this strategy are formed from *nya* (which can roughly be glossed as ‘having’) followed by a noun. A schematic for this type of compound is given below:

(108) (augment) – noun class prefix<sub>1</sub> – *nya* – noun class prefix<sub>2</sub> – noun stem

The vast majority of nouns which are derived using this type of compounding are humans and belong to Classes 1/2; however a few nouns belonging to other classes can be derived using this process. Examples are given below:

- (109) a. *munyalugééndo* 'traveler' (*nya* 'having' + *lugééndo* 'journey')  
 b. *munyalúkolo* 'relative' (*nya* 'having' + *lúkolo* 'family/clan')  
 c. *vanyawúnguungu* 'twins' (*nya* 'having' + *wúnguungu* 'twinhood')  
 d. *vanyaposíta* 'postal worker' (*nya* 'having' + *posíta* 'post office')  
 e. *wunyalumwíinga* 'unity' (*nya* 'having' + *lumwíinga* 'one')

Tone patterns are determined by the noun in the compound. Thus the noun member of the compound retains its original tone.

In addition to the types of compounding discussed above, there are a number of words for animals, birds, and trees which appear to be historical compounds, but which have uncertain origins. These words are significantly longer than normal underived words. For some of them, one of the roots is decipherable. Examples of some of these suspected compounds are given below:

SUSPECTED COMPOUND	POSSIBLE SOURCE WORD(S)
<i>lidongádaasi</i>	<i>daasi</i>
'tree species'	'forest'
<i>lipindzagogolo</i>	<i>múgogolo</i>
'type of grass'	'elder'
<i>ng'alavaasi</i>	<i>húng'ala</i>
'firebrand'	'to shine'
<i>hingamuseveela</i>	
'swallow' (N)	

Table 4.10 Examples of suspected compounds

Noun-noun compounds are rare; however a few examples have been found in the current data set. One of these is *mabihivaanu* ‘traditional medicine’; all the others refer to various familial relationships. Several examples are given below:

- (110) a. *mabihiváánu* ‘traditional medicine’ (*mabíhi* ‘trees’ + *váánu* ‘people’)  
 b. *dadafyáála* ‘father-in-law’ (*dááda* ‘father’ + *fyáála* ‘in-law’)  
 c. *dadamúdebe* ‘uncle (father’s younger brother)’ (*dááda* ‘uncle’ + *múdebe* ‘small’)

The final type of compounding is completely unproductive; there are only two nouns in the database which are derived using this strategy. These nouns are formed by a compound of the associative construction (see 4.2.5) and a verbal infinitive:

- (111) (augment) - associative construction - verbal infinitive

Both nouns derived using this strategy are given below:

- (112) *hya* + *húliya* → *hyahúliya* ‘food’ (lit. ‘of/for eating’)  
 hi-a hu-liy-a  
 CL7-ASSOC CL15-eat-FV
- (113) *hya* + *húnywa* → *hyahúnywa* ‘drink, beverage’ (lit. ‘of/for drinking’)  
 hi-a hu-nyw-a  
 CL7-ASSOC CL15-drink-FV

#### 4.1.6.5 Reduplication

Reduplication is another strategy for deriving new nouns. Nouns can be formed by the reduplication of adjectival, verbal, or nominal stems. The entire stem is reduplicated:

- (114) (augment) – noun class prefix – stem<sub>REDUPLICANT</sub> – stem



REDUPLICATED NOUN	SOURCE WORD	SOURCE PART OF SPEECH
<i>himulímuli</i> 'firefly'	<i>lumúli</i> 'light, torch'	Noun
<i>lung'aláng'ala</i> 'desert'	<i>hung'aala</i> 'shine'	Verb
<i>lunofunofu</i> 'fertilizer'	<i>-nofu</i> 'good'	Adjective

Table 4.11 Reduplicated nouns

There are a number of plants and animals whose names appear to be reduplicated, but whose original root is untraceable. Several examples are given below:

REDUPLICATED NOUN	GLOSS
<i>likovokóvo</i>	'type of grass'
<i>himbudimbudi</i>	'bat'
<i>hiluvilúvi</i>	'larvae'
<i>ngwasangwása</i>	'hornbill'

Table 4.12 Examples of suspected reduplication

## 4.2 Components of the Noun Phrase

The first half of this chapter discussed the noun class system and nominal morphology; the remainder of this chapter is devoted to the structure of the noun phrase and constituents that occur within the noun phrase (pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, the associative construction, and inflected interrogatives). Bena is head-initial; therefore within a noun phrase the head noun occurs first and is followed by other

modifiers. If multiple modifiers occur within a single noun phrase, the order is generally as follows:

(115) Noun - Adjective - Quantifier - Possessor - Demonstrative

Though the ordering in (15) is possible, it is extremely rare for a single noun phrase to contain more than two modifiers.

As in other Bantu languages, Bena nouns trigger agreement (concord) on other words in the noun phrase. Therefore adjectives, numbers, possessive pronouns, demonstratives, subject and object markers, and inflected interrogatives are marked with a prefix that agrees with their head noun in class. Bena does not have a strict concord system, as other factors such as humanness and animacy can affect agreement patterns. Anthropomorphized animals, for example, trigger Class 1/2 (human) agreement patterns even though they have noun class prefixes from other classes.

Another example of an area in which noun class does not completely govern agreement patterns is in noun class conflict resolution. When two inanimate nouns that belong to different classes are conjoined, they trigger Class 8 agreement patterns (even if neither of the nouns belongs to Class 7, the singular class that is typically paired with Class 8). When a subject consists of a human and another animate non-human, agreement is with Class 2 (human plural). Noun class conflict resolution is elaborated in 4.1.4.

There are two types of prefixes which are used for nominal concord. The first is the noun class prefix. In addition to occurring on nouns, the noun class prefix is also used with adjectives, the quantifiers *-olofu* 'many' and *-keefu* 'few', and the inflected interrogative *-hi* 'which'. The other type of concord prefix will be referred to as the

“agreement class prefix”; this prefix is used on possessive pronouns, demonstratives, numerals, the associative construction, the quantifier *-onda* ‘all’, and the inflected interrogative *-linga* ‘how many’. The following table summarizes the forms of these two types of prefixes for each noun class.

CLASS	NOUN CLASS PREFIX	AGREEMENT CLASS PREFIX
1	<i>mu-</i>	<i>yu-</i>
2	<i>va-</i>	<i>va-</i>
3	<i>mu-</i>	<i>gu-</i>
4	<i>mi-</i>	<i>gi-</i>
5	<i>li-</i>	<i>li-</i>
6	<i>ma-</i>	<i>ga-</i>
7	<i>hi-</i>	<i>hi-</i>
8	<i>fī-</i>	<i>fī-</i>
9	<i>N- (Ø-)</i>	<i>yi-</i>
10	<i>N- (Ø-)</i>	<i>dzi-</i>
11	<i>lu-</i>	<i>lu-</i>
12	<i>ha-</i>	<i>ha-</i>
13	<i>tu-</i>	<i>tu-</i>
14	<i>wu-</i>	<i>wu-</i>
15	<i>hu-</i>	<i>hu-</i>
16	<i>pa-</i>	<i>pa-</i>
17	<i>hu-</i>	<i>hu-</i>
18	<i>mu-</i>	<i>mu-</i>
20	<i>gu-</i>	<i>gu-</i>

Table 4.13 Bena concordial prefixes

#### 4.2.1 Pronouns

Pronouns in Bena include personal pronouns, possessives, demonstrative pronouns, relative pronouns, and interrogatives. Each type of pronoun is discussed in detail below.

##### 4.2.1.1 Personal pronouns

Free-standing personal pronouns may take the place of a noun or noun phrase. Personal pronouns are not obligatory and are usually only used for emphasis or contrast. The following two sections will discuss 1) personal pronouns used for humans (classes 1/2); and 2) pronouns used for all other noun classes.

##### 4.2.1.1.1 Personal pronouns used for classes 1/2

The personal pronouns within this set are used exclusively for humans and trigger Class 1/2 agreement patterns. Anthropomorphized animals (who take on syntactic and morphological properties of humans) also use Class 1/2 personal pronouns. Personal pronouns almost always occur with the augment (and take Class 1/2 augments), though it is possible for them to occur without it. There are two primary sets of personal pronouns; their forms are listed in Table 4.14:

PERSON	SERIES I	SERIES II
1SG	<i>uneene</i>	<i>yuune</i>
2SG	<i>uveeve</i>	<i>yuuve</i>
CL1	<i>umweene</i>	<i>yumweene</i>
1PL	<i>uhweehwe, uneefwe, uneehwe, yuuhwe, ufweefwe</i> <sup>14</sup>	<i>yuuhwe</i>
2PL	<i>unyeenye</i>	<i>yuunye</i>
CL2	<i>aveene</i>	<i>vaveene</i>

Table 4.14 Personal pronouns (Class 1/2)

The differing distributions of these two series of pronouns is summarized in Table 4.15 and discussed further below.

	SERIES I	SERIES II
Grammatical subject?	yes	only when preceded by <i>na</i> 'and'
Grammatical object?	rarely	yes
Oblique?	yes	no
Head of relative clause?	no	yes
Object of associative construction?	yes	no
Meaning when preceded by <i>na</i> 'and'?	accompanitive	topic

Table 4.15 Distribution of personal pronoun types

<sup>14</sup> These are dialectal variants: *uhwééhwe* is used by speakers in the northeast; *unééhwe* is used in the north bordering the Hehe-speaking area; *ufwééfwe* is used by speakers of the western Ng'anda dialect, *yúúhwe* was used by speakers living in a single village in the south, and *unééfwe* is used everywhere else (primarily in the east and south).

Series I is the most commonly used set of pronouns. This set of pronouns most often occurs in subject position, though these pronouns can also be used with other grammatical relations.

- (116) *Uneene ndili Mubena.*  
 u-neene ndi-li mu-bena  
 AUG-1SG.PRO 1SG-COP CL1-bena  
 ‘I am a Bena person.’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 002)

- (117) *Vitigilága aveene, “Dzisilile.”*  
 va-i-tig-il-ag-a a-veene dzi-sil-ile  
 CL2-say-PRES-APPL-NARR-FV AUG-CL2.PRO CL10-finish-FV  
 ‘They (themselves) said, “They’re gone.”

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 030)

Series I pronouns can also be used as oblique NPs:

- (118) *Atíge, “Tina sida nuveeve.”*  
 a-tig-e ti-na sida na=u-veeve  
 CL1-say-FV 1PL-have problem and=AUG-2SG.PRO  
 ‘He said, “We have a problem with you.”’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 064)

Series I pronouns nearly always occur with the augment; the exception to this is when the pronoun occurs as the second NP in an associative construction, as in the following example:

- (119) *Ihelelága iiwuya hwa mudála va mweene.*  
 i-hel-el-ag-a i-i-wuy-a hwa mu-dala va mweene  
 CL1-go-APPL- CL1-PRES-return-FV CL17.ASSOC CL1-wife CL2.ASSOC CL1.PRO  
 IPFV-FV  
 ‘He went and returned home with his wife.’

(08Sept01b, *The Hare and the Pheasant*, line 036)

Series II pronouns occur only in a restricted set of environments. Though Series I pronouns can be used as grammatical direct objects, it is more common to find Series II pronouns serving this role:

- (120) *Ahusahúla*                      *yuuve*.  
          a-hu-sahul-a                      yuuve  
          CL1-2SG.OBJ-search.for-FV      2SG.PRO  
          ‘She’s searching for you.’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 070)

Series II pronouns may only occur as grammatical subjects if they are marked as topics (preceded by the conjunction *na*):

- (121) *Na yuune, ndiweene umúyaangu íliya, na yuune ndilidzága.*  
          na yuune ndi-won-ile u-mu-yaangu i-i-liy-a na yuune ndi-lidz-ag-a  
          and 1SG.PRO 1SG-see-FV AUG-CL1-friend CL1-PRES- and 1SG.PRO 1SG-eat-IPFV-  
          eat-FV FV  
          ‘And me, (when) I saw my friend eating, I ate.’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 011)

The use of *na* before Series II pronouns marks them as topics, (as in (121) above), whereas Series I pronouns preceded by *na* show an accompanitive meaning (which is best translated ‘with X’):

- (122) *Aa, basi, sindigeenda nuveeve.*  
          aa basi si-ndi-geend-a na=u-veeve  
          ah then NEG-1SG-walk-FV and=AUG-1SG.PRO  
          ‘Ah, then, I’m not walking with you.’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 042)

Series II pronouns are also used in relative clauses:

- (123) *Yuune*    *ye*            *ndaafihile*            *uhúlola*            *na*    *uhupuliha...*  
           *yuune*    *ye*            *ndi-aa-fih-ile*            *u-hu-lol-a*            *na*    *u-hu-pulih-a*  
           1SG.PRO 1SG.REL 1SG-P4-arrive-FV AUG-CL15-see-FV and AUG-CL15-hear-FV  
           ‘I who have arrived to see and hear...’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 245)

In addition to the two series of pronouns described above, there is a third set of pronouns.

These are shortened forms of the personal pronouns and are summarized below:

PERSON	SHORTENED PRONOUNS
1SG	(u)ne
2SG	(u)ve
CL1	ye
1PL	te, twe, uhwe, ufwe
2PL	nye
CL2	ve

Table 4.16 Shortened forms of personal pronouns

It is not entirely clear what the difference between these shortened pronouns and Series I pronouns are, as there is significant overlap between the two forms. However, some generalizations about shortened personal pronouns can be made. In the corpus, shortened personal pronouns only occur in a restricted set of environments. They can serve as subjects to mark a topic:

- (124) *Une*            *ndilegúha*            *ing’aasi,*    *ndigeendéla*            *yiingi.*  
           *une*            *ndi-i-leguh-a*            *i-ng’aasi*    *ndi-i-geend-el-a*            *yi-ngi*  
           1SG.PRO 1SG-PRES-leave-FV AUG-road 1SG-PRES-walk-APPL-FV CL9-other  
           ‘Me, I’m leaving the road, I’m walking on a different one.’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 043)



Shortened personal pronouns can also occur when an NP is postposed:

- (125) *Tumuviha mugáti, te Vabena.*  
 tu-mu-vih-a mu-gati te va-bena  
 1PL-CL1.OBJ-put-FV CL16-inside 1PL.PRO CL2-bena  
 ‘We put him inside, we the Bena.’

(08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 022)

- (126) *Myááha gyééne gfla, pe ndipulíihe une...*  
 mi-aha gi-ene gfla pe ndi-pulih-ile une  
 CL4-year CL4-self DIST.DEM.4 REL.16 1SG-hear-FV 1SG.PRO

*pe sina ndihólwa...*  
 pe sina ndi-hol-w-a  
 REL.16 NEG 1SG-give.birth-PASS-FV  
 ‘In those years, when I heard...before I was born...’

(08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 037)

The first person plural shortened pronoun has two different forms, *uhwe* (or its dialectal variant *ufwe*<sup>15</sup>) and *te* (or its variant *twe*<sup>16</sup>). *Uhwe* can stand alone as an NP, whereas *te* is always immediately followed by an NP (‘we/us the X’). This difference is illustrated below:

- (127) \**Te tuhúmile huNdzoombe*  
 (128) *Uhwe tuhúmile huNdzoombe*  
 uhwe tu-humil-e hu-Ndzombe  
 1PL.PRO 1PL-come.from-FV CL17-Njombe  
 ‘We come from Njombe.’

- (129) *Te Vabéna tuhúmile huNdzóómbe*  
 uhwe va-bena tu-humil-e hu-dzombe  
 1PL.PRO CL2-bena 1PL-come.from-FV CL17-Njombe  
 ‘We, the Bena, come from Njombe.’

<sup>15</sup> Used in Maswamu Bena.

<sup>16</sup> Both forms are used throughout the Bena-speaking area.

Second person singular and plural also have vocative forms.<sup>17</sup> As with the other personal pronouns, there is both a normal form and a shortened form for each. These are shown below:

PERSON	NORMAL	SHORTENED
2SG	<i>veya</i>	<i>(u)ve</i>
2PL	<i>nyeva</i>	<i>nye</i>

Table 4.17 Vocative pronouns

- (130) *Veya, daada, ve, daada.*  
 2SG.PRO.VOC sister 1SG.PRO.VOC sister  
 ‘Hey, sister, hey, sister.’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 241)

- (131) *Ahuvuwudzága, “Nye, ing’iing’i dzili hwiiya?”*  
 a-hu-va-wudz-ag-a nye i-ng’iing’i dzi-li hwiiya  
 CL1-E-CL2.OBJ-ask-IPFV-FV 2PL.VOC AUG.10-tuber CL10-COP where  
 ‘She asked them, “Hey you, where are the numbu?”’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 027)

The second person plural vocative can also be used for second person singular; when it is used in this manner, it indicates politeness and respect:

- (132) *Nditigile, “Nyeva, yaangu, uli mama vaangu.”*  
 ndi-tig-ile nyeva yi-angu u-li mama va-angu  
 1SG-say-FV 2PL.PRO.VOC CL9-1SG.POSS 2SG-COP mother CL2-1SG.POSS  
 ‘I said, “Hey, my (person), you are my mother.”’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 251)

<sup>17</sup> It is also possible for all other second person pronouns to be used vocatively.



element takes the form of a shortened version of the personal pronoun. For all other classes, the pronominal element with which *na* is fused is the agreement class prefix followed by the suffix *-o*. Forms of this dependent pronoun are summarized below:

CLASS	DEPENDENT PRONOUN	CLASS	DEPENDENT PRONOUN	CLASS	DEPENDENT PRONOUN
1SG	<i>náni</i>	5	<i>nályo</i>	13	<i>náto</i>
2SG	<i>náve</i>	6	<i>nágo</i>	14	<i>náwo</i>
1PL	<i>náhwe</i>	7	<i>náhyo</i>	15	<i>náho</i>
2PL	<i>nánye</i>	8	<i>náfyo</i>	16	<i>nápo</i>
1	<i>náve</i>	9	<i>náyo</i>	17	<i>náho</i>
2	<i>návo</i>	10	<i>nádzo</i>	18	<i>námo</i>
3	<i>nágo</i>	11	<i>nálo</i>	20	<i>nágo</i>
4	<i>nágyo</i>	12	<i>náho</i>		

Table 4.19 Forms of the dependent pronoun

The dependent pronoun has the meaning ‘and/with X’ and can be used as an oblique NP, as in (135):

- (135) *Ndivaanga uhwitwiiha, ndiwiya nágo hukaaya.*  
 ndi-i-vaang-a u-hu-iwiih-a ndi-i-wiy-a nago hu-kaaya  
 1SG-PRES- AUG-CL15- 1SG-PRES-return-FV with.CL6 CL17-house  
 begin-FV carry.head-FV  
 ‘I begin to carry (them) on my head; I return with them home.’  
*(08Oct16a, A Farming Story, line 076)*

The dependent pronoun also serves as a topic marker. Either it can be used resumptively, as in (as in (136) below) or it can serve independently as an NP (as in example (137)).

- (136) *Pahúva mwadaada náve íisaha uhúpata ifaládza huváyagwe.*  
 pahuva mu-adaada nave a-i-sah-a u-hu-pat-a i-faladza hu-va-yagwe  
 because CL1-man with.CL1 CL1-PRES- want-FV AUG-CL15- get-FV AUG- comfort CL17-CL2- friend  
 ‘Because even the man<sup>18</sup> wants to get comfort from his friends.’  
 (08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 029)
- (137) *Mádzebele, mahalage, imaange. Nádzó tíisopa mumahéseni.*  
 ma-dzebele ma-halage i-maange nadzo ti-i-sop-a mu-ma-heseni  
 CL6-corn CL6-bean AUG-chickpea with.CL10 1PL-PRES-put-FV CL18-CL6- gunny.sack  
 ‘Corn, beans, chickpeas. And these we put in a gunny sack.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 125)

#### 4.2.1.3 Possessive pronouns

There are several strategies for marking possession in Bena. They include use of a possessive pronoun, use of a possessive clitic, and the associative construction. The first two of these strategies are discussed in this section, the third is discussed in 4.2.5.1.

The possessive pronoun is formed by prefixing the appropriate possessive stem with the agreement class prefix of the possessed noun. Forms of the possessive stem are summarized in the following table:

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<sup>18</sup> The speaker has been talking about a man whose wife died.

PERSON	FORM	GLOSS
1SG	<i>-aangu</i>	‘my’
2SG	<i>-aaho</i>	‘your (SG)’
CL1	<i>-aahe</i>	‘his/her/its’
1PL	<i>-eesu</i> <sup>19</sup>	‘our’
2PL	<i>-eenyo</i>	‘your (PL)’
CL2	<i>-aanavo</i>	‘their’

Table 4.20 Possessive pronouns

Note that there are no special possessive pronouns for Classes 3-20. Technically the third person singular and plural possessives can be used for possessors belonging to other classes, but non-human possessors are actually fairly rare in Bena. In these circumstances, speakers generally seem to opt for syntactic expression of possession, using the associative construction (see 4.2.5). Following are several examples of possessive pronouns:

- (138) *inyuuumba*      *yaangu*  
i-N-yuumba      yi-angu  
AUG-CL9-house      CL9-1SG.POSS  
‘our house’
- (139) *imíguunda*      *geenyo*  
i-mi-guunda      gi-enyo  
AUG-CL4-field      CL4-2PL.POSS  
‘your (PL) fields’
- (140) *aváána*      *vaanavo*  
a-va-ana      va-anavo  
AUG-CL2-child      CL2-CL2.POSS  
‘their children’

<sup>19</sup>The dialectal variant *-iitu* is used in Maswamu Bena.

In addition to these standard possessive forms, there are some longer forms which are preferred by some speakers. These long forms take the form of *anya* + possessive pronoun:

PERSON	FORM	GLOSS
1SG	- <i>anyavaangu</i>	'my'
2SG	- <i>anyavaaho</i>	'your (sg.)'
CL1	- <i>anyavaahwe</i>	'his/her/its'
1PL	- <i>anyaveesu</i>	'our'
2PL	- <i>anyaveenyo</i>	'your (pl.)'
CL2	- <i>anyavawo</i>	'their'

Table 4.21 Long forms of possessive pronouns

At this point it is unclear what the difference is between normal possessive pronouns and the long form.

Forms of the possessive pronouns may also be cliticized to the possessed noun. Cliticized possessive pronouns are generally only used with commonly used kinship reference terms. These clitic forms are summarized below.

PERSON	FORM	GLOSS	EXAMPLE	EXAMPLE GLOSS
1SG	= <i>aangu</i>	'my'	<i>dadaangu</i>	'my father'
2SG	= <i>ó</i>	'your (SG)'	<i>daadó</i>	'your (SG) father'
CL1	= <i>é</i>	'his/her/its'	<i>daadé</i>	'his/her father'
1PL	= <i>eesu</i> <sup>20</sup>	'our'	<i>dadeesu</i>	'our father'
2PL	= <i>eenyo</i>	'your (PL)'	<i>dadeenyo</i>	'your (PL) father'
CL2	= <i>ávo</i>	'their'	<i>dadávo</i>	'their father'

Table 4.22 Possessive clitics

<sup>20</sup> -*iitu* in Maswamu Bena.

As can be seen in the above table, possessive clitics have some interesting phonological properties. First, the second and third person singular possessive clitics are the only type of nominal word-final High tone that occurs in Bena (see 2.3.4). Second, with the exception of the second and third person singular clitics, use of the possessive clitics triggers vowel shortening in the stem of the possessed word.

#### 4.2.1.4 Relative pronouns

The third type of Bena pronouns is relative pronouns. These pronouns are used to relativize objects, obliques, and the subjects of negative verbs, existential verbs, and predicate adjectives.<sup>21</sup> The form of relative pronouns is discussed here; see 7.2.6 for a discussion of the syntax of relative clauses. Relative pronouns are formed by prefixing the relative stem *-e* with the agreement class prefix. Forms of relative pronouns are summarized in Table 4.23:

CLASS	RELPRO	CLASS	RELPRO	CLASS	RELPRO
1	<i>ye</i>	8	<i>fye</i>	15	<i>hwe</i>
2	<i>ve</i>	9	<i>ye</i>	16	<i>pe</i>
3	<i>gwe</i>	10	<i>dze</i>	17	<i>hwe</i>
4	<i>gye</i>	11	<i>lwe</i>	18	<i>mwe</i>
5	<i>lye</i>	12	<i>twe</i>	19	<i>ge</i>
6	<i>ge</i>	13	<i>hwe</i>		
7	<i>hye</i>	14	<i>we</i>		

Table 4.23 Relative pronouns

A few examples of Bena relative pronouns are given in (141) and (142):

<sup>21</sup> The other relativization strategy in Bena is the relative prefix, which is used to relativize subjects of fully inflecting verbs as well as subjects of the verbal copula, *nya* ‘have’, and *gaya* ‘be without’.



- (141) *Adza vihwíisa iliyíti, umúúnu ye áfwe...*  
 adza va-i-hu-iih-i-a i-li-yiti u-mu-nu ye a-fw-e  
 AUX CL2-PRES-E- AUG.5-CL5-corpse AUG.1-CL1-person REL.1 CL1-die-FV  
 descend-CAUS-FV  
 ‘After they lower the corpse, the person who has died...’  
 (08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 022)
- (142) *Amusuumile, ungamusuungúla, nuwudóodo we ali náwo.*  
 a-mu-suumil-e u-ngamu-sungula na=u-wu-dóodo we a-li nawo  
 CL1-CL1.OBJ- AUG.1-clever-hare and=AUG.14- REL.14 CL1-COP with.14  
 defeat-FV CL15-little  
 ‘The clever hare beat him (the elephant) with the little that he had.’  
 (08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3*, line 091)

#### 4.2.1.5 Demonstrative pronouns

The final type of Bena pronouns is demonstrative pronouns. Any demonstrative can stand alone as a pronoun (demonstratives are discussed in detail in 4.2.3). Several examples of demonstratives used as pronouns are given below:

- (143) *Amuwééne uhutigila, “Yúla ye mwaana vaangu.”*  
 a-mu-ween-e u-hu-tigil-a yúla ye mu-ana va-ngu  
 CL1-CL1.OBJ-see-FV AUG-CL15-say-FV DIST.DEM.1 COP CL1-child CL1-1SG.POSS  
 ‘She saw him, saying, “That one is my child.”’  
 (08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 051)
- (144) *Íyo ng’aasi.*  
 íyo N-kaasi  
 MED.DEM.9 CL9-road  
 ‘That one is a road.’<sup>22</sup>  
 (08Oct06a, *Riddles*, line 010)

<sup>22</sup> Here a speaker is referring to a riddle he just told. A freer translation would say “That riddle refers to/describes a road.”

- (145) *Lino, idzi dzihuma hwíiya?*  
 lino idzi dzi-i-hum-a hwíiya  
 now PROX.DEM.10 CL10-PRES-come.from-FV where  
 ‘Now where do these come from?’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 171)

#### 4.2.2 Adjectives

In Bena, adjectives represent one of the smallest word classes. This is fairly common in Bantu. For example, Maho (1999) notes that the adjective class in Bantu languages is often restricted to descriptors of size, age, and appearance, but may also include colors and numerals below five (here, numerals and quantifiers will be treated separately from adjectives; see 4.2.4). Bena adjectives fit within these criteria. Adjectives are prefixed with the noun class prefix of the head noun, as is shown in the following examples:

- (146) *iseenga ndzéélu*  
 i-seenga N-eelu  
 AUG-cow CL9-white  
 ‘white cow’
- (147) *umwáana múdebe*  
 u-mu-ana mu-debe  
 AUG-CL1-child CL1-small  
 ‘small child’
- (148) *manóono madóodi*  
 ma-noono ma-doodi  
 CL6-fruit CL6-unripe  
 ‘fresh/unripe fruit’

Because adjectives and nouns both use the same set of noun class prefixes, it can be difficult to distinguish adjectives from nouns which are being used attributively. The crucial factor which distinguishes nouns from adjectives in Bena has to do with inference

of class. Nouns have inherent class. Adjectives, on the other hand, have no inherent class and could potentially be used to modify nouns from any class. This means that an adjectival stem such as *-debe* ‘small’ can co-occur with the noun class prefix of any noun class.

The semantics of Bena adjectives fit well within Dixon’s (1977, 2006) typology of adjectives. Bena has adjectives which belong to each of Dixon’s four core semantic types (dimension, age, value, and color). In addition to this, Bena has adjectives belonging to two of Dixon’s peripheral types (physical property and human propensity). (Dixon’s final semantic type, speed, is expressed using adverbs and verbs in Bena.) All of the adjectives in the current data set are summarized according to semantic sub-type (following Dixon’s typology) below:

DIMENSION	AGE	VALUE	COLOR	PHYSICAL PROPERTY	HUMAN PROPENSITY
<i>-kómi</i> 'big'	<i>-mya</i> 'new'	<i>-viifu/-viivi</i> 'bad'	<i>-iitu</i> 'black'	<i>-káfu</i> 'dry'	<i>-támwa</i> 'sick'
<i>-debe,</i> <i>-doodo</i> 'small'		<i>-nofu</i> 'good, clean, pretty'	<i>-eelu</i> 'white'	<i>-doodi</i> 'fresh'	
<i>-fupi</i> 'short'		<i>-dzáfu</i> 'dirty'	<i>-dung'u/ -dung'upafu</i> 'red'	<i>-oofu</i> 'rotten'	
<i>-taali</i> 'long'				<i>-dehe</i> 'smooth'	
<i>-dutu</i> 'fat'				<i>-ebeepe</i> 'light'	
<i>-debelebe,</i> <i>-nyeehe</i> 'skinny'				<i>-dzito</i> 'heavy'	
				<i>-nono</i> 'sweet'	

Table 4.24 Adjectives

Adjectives have a number of other characteristics. First, they can modify a noun in a noun phrase. (This was shown in examples (146) through (148) above.) Second, adjectives can function predicatively:

- (149) *Umwáana*      *yúla*      *múdebe.*  
u-mu-ana      yúla      mu-debe  
AUG.1-CL1-child    DIST.DEM.1    CL1-small  
'That child is tall.'

- (150) *Ilibíhi*            *íli*            *livedza*            *lítaali*.  
 i-li-bihi            íli            li-vedz-a            li-taali  
 AUG.5-CL5-tree    PROX.DEM.5    CL5-COP-FV            CL5-long  
 ‘This plant will be long.’

Adjectives can also be modified by adverbs such as *hiilo* ‘very’.

- (151) *malímo*    *mánofu*    *hiilo*  
 ma-limo    ma-nofu    hiilo  
 CL6-work    CL6-good    very  
 ‘very good work’
- (152) *múúnu*    *mukómi*    *hiilo*  
 mu-nu    mu-komi    hiilo  
 CL1-person    CL1-big    very  
 ‘very big person’

When no head noun is present, an adjective may serve syntactically as the head of an NP, as in the following examples:

- (153) *Ilikómi*            *lili*            *pahyáánya*            *paligóbe*.  
 i-li-komi            li-li            pa-hyaanya            pa-li-gobe  
 AUG-CL5-big    CL5-COP    CL16-top            CL16-CL5-turtle  
 ‘The big (one) was on top of the turtle.’  
(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many*: CM, line 078)
- (154) *Íikova*                    *madóódi*.  
 a-i-kov-a                    ma-doodi  
 CL1-PRES-pick-FV    CL6-unripe  
 ‘He was picking the unripe (fruits).’  
(08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*: CM, line 028)

#### 4.2.3 Demonstratives

There are five types of demonstratives in Bena. Three of these are commonly used; the final two occur rarely and only in specific discourse settings. Bena demonstratives can be used to indicate proximity (physical and metaphorical). They can

also be used anaphorically and to indicate different degrees of emphasis. The use of demonstratives to indicate proximity, anaphoricity, and different degrees of emphasis is common in Bantu (Maho 1999). In broad terms, the three primary types of demonstratives are (1) proximal demonstratives which refer to things near to the speaker; (2) medial demonstratives which refer to things that are not very far from the speaker; and (3) distal demonstratives which refer to things that are very far from or out of sight of the speaker.

There are two final types of demonstratives in Bena. They cannot be used to indicate proximity; rather they serve as anaphoric markers with differing degrees of emphasis. So-called “emphatic demonstratives” have been described for a number of Bantu languages.<sup>23</sup> For example, Tswana (S21) has three types of emphatic demonstratives (in addition to four sets of deictic demonstratives). These translate “‘this very one (emphatic)’, ‘this very one here’ (more emphatic)”, and “all these” (Cole 1975, quoted in Maho 1999). Bena has several sets of “emphatic demonstratives”. These can be used to indicate notions such as exclusive reference and contrast. Distinctions such as these, however, are very difficult to elicit, and when pressed to provide differences in meaning between demonstrative forms, speakers usually replied that there was a meaning difference but that they didn’t know what it was or they said that one demonstrative was “more specific” than another. Because there are so many different types of demonstratives in Bena, there are not enough examples of each type of demonstrative in

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<sup>23</sup> An additional type of demonstratives (presentational demonstratives) has been described in Bantu languages such as Nyamwezi (Maganga and Schadeburg 1992). None of the demonstratives in Bena seem to correlate with this type.

the corpus to use a corpus-based approach to determine the exact differences among the demonstratives. Therefore because these types of demonstratives are usually referred to as “emphatic demonstratives” in Bantu linguistics, I use that terminology here, with the qualification that at this point it is not entirely clear what role “emphasis” plays in demonstratives. Throughout this section “emphatic” should be taken as a fuzzy term which encompasses notions such as contrast, precision, and exclusive reference. Because Bena exhibits such a complex system of demonstratives, the ways in which these emphatic demonstratives are used merit further research.

Bena demonstratives are formed by prefixing or suffixing the agreement class prefix to the appropriate demonstrative stem. Demonstratives are bisyllabic and high tone appears on the first syllable of the demonstrative. Demonstratives follow the noun they modify. They can also stand independently as demonstrative pronouns (“this/that one”; see 4.2.1.4 above). The forms of the demonstratives for each noun class are summarized in the following table.

CLASS	PROXIMAL	MEDIAL	DISTAL	ANAPHORIC EMPHATIC <sub>1</sub>	ANAPHORIC EMPHATIC <sub>2</sub>
1	<i>úyu</i>	<i>úyo</i>	<i>yúla</i>	<i>yúyo</i>	<i>éyo</i>
2	<i>áva</i>	<i>ávo</i>	<i>vála</i>	<i>vávo</i>	<i>évo</i>
3	<i>úgu</i>	<i>úgo</i>	<i>gúla</i>	<i>gúgo</i>	<i>égo</i>
4	<i>ígi</i>	<i>ígyo</i>	<i>gíla</i>	<i>gígyo</i>	<i>égyo</i>
5	<i>íli</i>	<i>ílyo</i>	<i>líla</i>	<i>lílyo</i>	<i>élyo</i>
6	<i>ága</i>	<i>ágo</i>	<i>gála</i>	<i>gágo</i>	<i>égo</i>
7	<i>íhi</i>	<i>íhyo</i>	<i>híla</i>	<i>híhyo</i>	<i>éhyo</i>
8	<i>ífi</i>	<i>ífyo</i>	<i>fíla</i>	<i>fífyo</i>	<i>éfyo</i>
9	<i>íyi</i>	<i>íyo</i>	<i>yíla</i>	<i>yíyo</i>	<i>éyo</i>
10	<i>ídzi</i>	<i>ídzo</i>	<i>dzíla</i>	<i>dzídzo</i>	<i>édzo</i>
11	<i>úlu</i>	<i>úlo</i>	<i>lúla</i>	<i>lúlo</i>	<i>élo</i>
12	<i>áha</i>	<i>áho</i>	<i>hála</i>	<i>háho</i>	<i>ého</i>
13	<i>útu</i>	<i>úto</i>	<i>túla</i>	<i>túto</i>	<i>éto</i>
14	<i>úwu</i>	<i>úwo</i>	<i>wúla</i>	<i>wúwo</i>	<i>éwo</i>
15	<i>úhu</i>	<i>úho</i>	<i>húla</i>	<i>húho</i>	<i>ého</i>
16	<i>ápa</i>	<i>ápo</i>	<i>pála</i>	<i>pápo</i>	<i>épo</i>
17	<i>úhu</i>	<i>úho</i>	<i>húla</i>	<i>húho</i>	<i>ého</i>
18	<i>úmu</i>	<i>úmo</i>	<i>múla</i>	<i>múmo</i>	<i>émo</i>
20	<i>úgu</i>	<i>úgo</i>	<i>gúla</i>	<i>gúgo</i>	<i>égyo</i>

Table 4.25 Demonstratives

The following sections discuss formation, meaning, and use of each type of demonstrative. Following this is a discussion of various strategies used by speakers to manipulate demonstratives in order to gain greater specificity. These strategies include use of the emphatic particle *ee*, reduplication, combination of multiple demonstratives, and contraction of demonstratives with other words.



#### 4.2.3.1 Demonstrative forms

##### 4.2.3.1.1 Proximal demonstrative

The proximal demonstrative is used with things that are very close to the speaker. It is formed by prefixing the augment to the agreement class prefix. (In other words for this demonstrative, the agreement class prefix itself becomes the stem.) The first syllable of the demonstrative receives High tone. For example, the augment for Class 1 nouns is *u-*; the Class 1 agreement class prefix is *yu-*. Thus the Class 1 proximal demonstrative becomes *úyu*. Similarly, for Class 8 (whose augment is *i-* and whose agreement class prefix is *fi-*) the proximal demonstrative is *ifi*.

- (155) *umuunu*                      *úyu*  
           u-mu-nu                    uyu  
           AUG.1-CL1-person    PROX.DEM.1  
           ‘this person’
- (156) *ifidege*                    *ifi*  
           i-fi-dege                   ifi  
           AUG.8-CL8-bird        PROX.DEM.8  
           ‘these birds’

The proximal demonstrative can also be used to express temporal proximity:

- (157) *Ifigóno*            *ifi,*            *avahídzi*            *vólofu.*  
           i-fi-gono        ifi                a-va-hidzi        va-olofu  
           AUG.8-CL8-day    PROX.DEM.8    AUG.2-CL2-thief    CL2-many  
           ‘These days, (there are) many thieves.’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 127)

#### 4.2.3.1.2 Medial demonstrative

The medial demonstrative uses the demonstrative stem *-o*. It is prefixed with the agreement class prefix and a vowel that harmonizes with the vowel of the agreement class prefix. High tone occurs on the first syllable. A schematic for the formation of the medial demonstrative together with a few examples is given below:<sup>24</sup>

- (158) **vowel + ACP + demonstrative stem -o**
- |    |      |    |               |                              |
|----|------|----|---------------|------------------------------|
| i- | dzi- | -o | - <i>ídzo</i> | ‘that <sub>MED</sub> (CL10)’ |
| A- | pa-  | -o | - <i>ápo</i>  | ‘that <sub>MED</sub> (CL18)’ |

Some examples of the medial demonstrative are given below:

- (159) *ilígaanga*      *ílyo*  
i-li-gaanga      ílyo  
AUG-CL5-rock      MED.DEM.5  
‘that<sub>MED</sub> rock’

- (160) *ávaanu*      *ávo*  
a-va-nu      ávo  
AUG-CL2-person      MED.DEM.2  
‘those<sub>MED</sub> people’

The medial demonstrative has two primary uses. The first occurs in expressions of physical proximity. Here, the medial demonstrative is used to indicate something that is neither near to nor far from the speaker or something that is near to the hearer but far from the speaker. Thus, the phrase *ihíinu ihyo* ‘that thing’ could refer to an object that is located somewhere between the speaker and hearer or to something that is very close to the hearer (i.e., in the hearer’s hand) but far from the speaker. The medial demonstrative

<sup>24</sup> In order to disambiguate the medial and distal demonstratives in free translations, ‘that<sub>MED</sub>’ will be used for the medial demonstrative and ‘that<sub>DIST</sub>’ will be used for the distal demonstrative.

is never used in expressions of temporal proximity (unless it is used anaphorically to reference a time just mentioned, see below).

The second primary use of the *-o* demonstrative is anaphoric. This demonstrative is used to refer to something which has been previously mentioned. In some cases, a better free translation for the anaphoric demonstrative is “that very” or “that same”.

Consider the following excerpt from a speaker explaining farming seasons:

- (161) a. *Tiváánga*                      *pamwéédzi*                      *ugwa*                      *mútaanda*.  
           ti-i-vaang-a                      pa-mu-eedzi                      u-gu-a                      mutaanda  
           1PL-PRES-begin-FV                      CL16-CL3-month                      AUG-CL3-ASSOC                      six  
           ‘We begin in June.’
- b. *Ápo*                                      *tihéénga*                                      *imiguunda*                                      *imípya*.  
           a-pa-o                                      ti-i-heeng-a                                      i-mi-guunda                                      i-mi-pya  
           MED.DEM.16                                      1PL-PRES-clear-FV                                      AUG-CL4-field                                      AUG-CL4-new  
           ‘Then (at that time) we clear new fields.’
- c. *Ígyo*                                      *tigelanídza*                                      *paambebe*.  
           i-gi-o                                      ti-gelanidz-a                                      paambebe  
           MED.DEM.16                                      1PL-prepare-FV                                      later  
           ‘Those (fields) we are preparing for later.’
- (08Oct06a, *Times of Planting*, lines 008-010)

In (161b) the speaker uses the anaphoric demonstrative of the locative class 16 temporally (‘at that time’). In (161c) the anaphoric demonstrative references the fields mentioned in the previous sentence.

Because of the possible anaphoric interpretation of the medial demonstrative, it cannot be used in a list of items when the medial (physical) interpretation is intended. During an elicitation session, a speaker was presented with three toys. One toy bird was placed near the speaker, one toy bird was placed at a distance a bit further away, and the third toy (a rock) was placed far from the speaker. It was expected that the speaker would

use a proximal demonstrative for the first, a medial demonstrative for the second, and a distal demonstrative for the third. Thus, the following sentence was expected:

- (162) \**Ihidege*      *ihi*,                      *nihidege*                      *ihyo*,  
           i-hi-dege      ihi                      na=i-hi-dege                      i-hi-o  
           AUG-CL7-bird PROX. DEM.CL7      and=AUG-CL7-bird AUG-CL7-MED.DEM
- niligaanga*                      *lila*,                      *fyóónda*      *fyaangu*.  
           na=i-li-gaanga                      li-la                      fi-onda      fi-aangu  
           and=AUG-CL5-rock CL5-DIST. DEM CL8-all      CL8-1 SG.POSS  
           (attempted: ‘This bird, that<sub>MED</sub> bird, and that<sub>DIST</sub> rock are all my things.’)

This sentence was rejected by speakers as ungrammatical, because of the possible confusion of the second (medial) demonstrative with the anaphoric interpretation. Instead, speakers preferred the following sentence, where the medial demonstrative is replaced with the distal:

- (163) *Ihidege*                      *ihi*,                      *nihidege*                      *híla*,  
           i-hi-dege                      ihi                      na=i-hi-dege                      hi-la  
           AUG-CL7-bird PROX. DEM.CL7      and=AUG-CL7-bird CL7-DIST.DEM
- niligaanga*                      *lila*,                      *fyóónda*      *fyaangu*.  
           na=i-li-gaanga                      li-la                      fi-onda      fi-aangu  
           and=AUG-CL5-rock CL5-DIST.DEM CL8-all      CL8-1 SG.POSS  
           ‘This bird, that<sub>DIST</sub> bird, and that<sub>DIST</sub> rock are all my things.’

#### 4.2.3.1.3 Distal demonstrative

The distal demonstrative is used to refer to something that is far from (though not necessarily out of sight of) both speaker and hearer. It is formed by prefixing the agreement class prefix to the distal demonstrative stem *la*. As with other demonstratives, High tone occurs on the first syllable:

- (164) *inyuuumba*      *yíla*  
 i-N-yuumba      yi-la  
 AUG-CL9-house      CL9-DIST.DEM  
 ‘that<sub>DIST</sub> house’
- (165) *imiguunda*      *gíla*  
 i-mi-guunda      gi-la  
 AUG-CL4-field      CL4-DIST.DEM  
 ‘those<sub>DIST</sub> fields’

The distal demonstrative can also be used to indicate temporal distance:

- (166) *Imyááha*      *gíla*      *pe*      *uloongíilwe*      *idzenidzo...*  
 i-mi-aha      gi-la      pe      u-long-w-ile      idzenidzo  
 AUG.4-CL4-year      CL4-DIST.DEM      when      2SG-tell-PASS-FV      these.things  
 ‘(In) those years, when you were told these things...’

(08Oct1f, *Taboos*, line 073)

#### 4.2.3.1.4 Anaphoric exclusive reference demonstrative<sub>1</sub>

The fourth type of demonstrative is formed by reduplicating the agreement class prefix and attaching this to the demonstrative stem *-o*. This results in two consecutive vowels in the second syllable; normal rules for the resolution of vowel adjacency (either deletion or approximant formation) are followed. (See 2.1.3 for a more detailed discussion of these processes in Bena.) High tone occurs on the first syllable. Below is an illustration of the formation of the emphatic anaphoric demonstrative with examples taken from Classes 8, 10, and 11:

- (167)
- | ACP  | ACP  | demonstrative stem -o |   |                                  |
|------|------|-----------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| fi-  | fi-  | -o                    | → | <i>fífyo</i> ‘that very (CL8)’   |
| dzi- | dzi- | -o                    | → | <i>dzídzó</i> ‘that very (CL10)’ |
| lu-  | lu-  | -o                    | → | <i>lúlo</i> ‘that very (CL11)’   |

This demonstrative is anaphoric and emphatic. In other words, it refers to something mentioned previously, and emphasizes that the speaker is referring to that object/person and none other. In this way, it seems that this demonstrative could also be called an “exclusive reference” demonstrative. It is best translated as “that very” or “that very same”. Unlike the medial demonstrative, this demonstrative cannot be used in expressions of physical proximity. A few examples illustrating the differences between the medial demonstrative and the anaphoric emphatic demonstrative are given below:

- (168) a. *umúúnu*                      *úyo,*                      b. *umúúnu*                      *yúyo*  
           u-mu-nu                      u-yu-o                      u-mu-nu                      yu-yu-o  
           AUG-CL1-person    AUG-CL1-DEM                      AUG-CL1-person    CL1-CL1-DEM  
           ‘that<sub>MED</sub> person’/‘that person (already  
           referred to)’                      ‘that very person (already mentioned)’
- (169) a. *ulúkaani*                      *úlo,*                      b. *ulúkaani*                      *lúlo*  
           u-lu-kaani                      u-lu-o                      u-lu-kaani                      lu-lu-o  
           AUG-CL11-issue    AUG-CL11-DEM                      AUG-CL11-issue    CL11-CL11-DEM  
           ‘that issue (already referred to)’                      ‘that very issue (already mentioned)’

The following example is taken from a story where a woman continues to sing the same song over and over again in order to give the hare strength to fight his enemies. The emphatic anaphoric demonstrative is used to stress that in each situation, the woman sings the very same song:

- (170) *Hila pe vitaang'ána n'ung'óho úyuungi,*  
 hila pe va-i-taang'-an-a na=u-ng'oho u-yu-ngi  
 each when CL2-PRES-meet-RECIP-FV and=AUG-animal AUG-CL1-other  
 'Each time they met up with another animal, she sang that very same song.'
- ihwiimba ulwiimbo lúlo.*  
 a-i-hwiimb-a u-lu-iimbo lu-lu-o  
 CL1-PRES-sing-FV AUG-CL11-song CL11-CL11-DEM  
 'Each time they met up with another animal, she sang that very same song.'
- (08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 037)

As with the anaphoric demonstrative, the emphatic anaphoric demonstrative does not require that something be explicitly mentioned previously in discourse, as long as it is understood from the discourse context. Thus, in the following example, the speaker was beginning to explain about the process of preparing a field to be farmed. She says that she starts by burning a field to ready it for planting. Then she states that she begins farming. She follows that by correcting herself, "I don't begin that very day, I begin the next day":

- (171) a. *Halafu ndiváánga uhúlima.*  
 halafu ndi-i-vaang-a u-hu-lim-a  
 then 1SG-PRES-begin-FV AUG-CL15-farm-FV  
 'Then I begin to farm.'
- b. *Sindiváánga higóno híhyo, ndiváánga higóno hya wúvili.*  
 si-ndi-i-vaang-a hi-gono hi-hi-o ndi-i-vaang-a hi-gono hi-a wu-vili  
 NEG-1SG-PRES- CL7-day ACP7-ACP7- 1SG-PRES- CL7-day CL7- CL14-  
 begin-FV MED.DEM begin-FV ASSOC two  
 'I don't begin that same day, I begin on the second day.'
- (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, lines 014-015)

#### 4.2.3.1.5 Emphatic anaphoric demonstrative<sub>2</sub>

The fifth and final type of demonstrative is formed by prefixing the particle *e* to the agreement class prefix and then suffixing the demonstrative suffix *-o*. As with the other demonstratives, the first syllable has High tone:

(172)	prefix e-	ACP	demonstrative stem o		
	e-	yu-	-o	→	<i>éyo</i> ‘that very (cl1)’
	e-	dzi-	-o	→	<i>édzo</i> ‘that very (CL10)’
	lu-	lu-	-o	→	<i>élo</i> ‘that very (CL11)’

This demonstrative is much more difficult to explain than the other four because it is so rarely used. It occurs only once in the entire (non-elicited) corpus. The following sentence is taken from an explanation of a riddle referring to lice which lay their eggs in people’s hair:

(173)	<i>Mu-mweene</i>	<i>mwe</i>	<i>gitagilila</i>	<i>émo,</i>	<i>giholehela</i>	<i>émo.</i>
	mu-mu-ene	mu-e	ga-i-tagil-il-a	emo,	ga-i-holeh-el-a	emo
	CL18-CL18-self	CL18-REL	CL6-PRES-lay-	DEM.CL18	CL6-PRES-	DEM.CL18
			APPL-FV		give.birth-APPL-FV	
	‘Indeed it’s inside where they lay (eggs) there inside, they give birth there inside.’					
	(08Oct06a, Riddles, line 067)					

In elicitation sessions, speakers were familiar with the forms of this demonstrative, though they had difficulty explaining its meaning. It seems, however, that it also serves as an anaphoric emphatic demonstrative. Like the first anaphoric demonstrative, it seems to be used in expressions of exclusive reference. It is likely that it has derived from the emphatic particle *ee* (see 4.2.3.2.1) followed by the medial/anaphoric demonstrative described in 4.2.3.1.2 above. Because this fifth type of demonstrative is so rarely used, it is unclear what exactly the difference is between it and the other anaphoric emphatic demonstrative described in 4.2.3.1.4, however it appears that this demonstrative indicates stronger emphasis. Consultants indicated that this



demonstrative is often used in questions of clarification, as in the following (invented)

exchange below:

(174) *Speaker A:* *Tuhaahelé*                      *humwambo*      *húla.*  
                          ti-haa-hel-e                      hu-mwaambo      hú-la.  
                          1PL-P<sub>3</sub>-go-FV                      CL17-side              CL17-DIST.DEM  
                          ‘We went to the other side (i.e., of a river).’

*Speaker B:* *Muhaahelé*                      *ého?*  
                          mu-haa-hel-e                      e-hu-o  
                          2PL-P<sub>3</sub>-go-FV                      EMPH-CL17-DEM  
                          ‘You went over *there*?’

*Speaker A:* *Ee, tihaahelé*                      *ého.*  
                          ee ti-haa-hel-e                      e-hu-o  
                          yes 1PL-P<sub>3</sub>-go-FV                      EMPH-CL17-DEM  
                          ‘Yes, we went over *there*.’

In exchanges such as that given in (174), speakers indicate that this demonstrative is used to mark unexpected information. Consultants indicated that the use of this demonstrative in the sentences above is because the Speaker B was surprised that Speaker A was going to a particular location. Comments such as these on the part of consultants indicate that it is possible that notions such as discourse stance are involved in demonstrative choice, though at this point such a claim remains speculative.

#### 4.2.3.2 Manipulation of demonstratives

There are a number of ways in which speakers can manipulate demonstratives in order to create greater specificity or to indicate emphasis. These include use of the emphatic particle *ee*, reduplication, combination of demonstratives, and contraction with other words. Each of these strategies is described in the following sections.

#### 4.2.3.2.1 Particle *ee*

The particle *ee* is an emphatic particle. When it occurs immediately before a demonstrative,<sup>25</sup> it indicates either extreme proximity (i.e., a speaker is holding an object in his/her hand) or emphasis. Thus the phrase *iligaanga ee ili* ‘this very stone’ can refer either to a stone that a speaker is holding in his/her hand, or can indicate exclusive reference, meaning ‘this very stone’ (and not any other one). Constructions combining the emphatic particle *ee* generally only occur with the medial, distal, and proximal demonstratives. Consider the following example:

- (175) *Lino, palidzwi ngita ee ili...*  
       lino pa-li-dzwi ngita ee ili  
       now CL16-CL5-issue like EMPH PROX.DEM.5  
       ‘Now in an issue like this very one...’

*Ee* does not occur with anaphoric/emphatic demonstratives or with reduplicated forms of demonstratives unless a pause occurs between the particle *ee* and the demonstrative, in which case *ee* can only be interpreted as an agreement marker. Thus, for example, it is ungrammatical to say \**ee hihyo*. Instead a pause must occur between the two words and the phrase given as a response to a question, as in the following exchange:

---

<sup>25</sup> When used alone, the particle *ee* indicates agreement and can roughly be translated as “yes”.

(176) *Speaker A: Umeele                      hlla.*  
                   u-N-peel-e                    hi-la  
                   2SG.SUBJ-1SG.OBJ-        CL7-DIST.DEM  
                   give-FV  
                   ‘Give me that.’

*Speaker B: Hlhyo?*  
                   hi-hi-o  
                   ACP7-ACP7-MED.DEM  
                   ‘This one?’ (and not a different one)

*Speaker A: Ee, hlhyo.*  
                   ee    hi-hi-o  
                   yes    ACP7-ACP7-MED.DEM  
                   ‘Yes, that one.’ (and not another)

#### 4.2.3.2.2 Reduplication of demonstratives

Some demonstratives may be reduplicated. Reduplication of the demonstrative increases emphasis. Thus a non-emphatic demonstrative becomes emphatic when it is reduplicated, and an emphatic demonstrative becomes even more emphatic in its reduplicated form. In the corpus, three types of reduplicated demonstratives exist. Two of these are reduplicated forms of the distal demonstrative. Thus (using Class 1 as an example) the distal demonstrative *yúla* undergoes partial reduplication to form *yuyúla*. This is more emphatic than the unreduplicated form *yúla*. The distal demonstrative may also be doubly reduplicated to form the even more emphatic *yuyúlayula*. The first anaphoric demonstrative (i.e., *yúyo*) may also be partially reduplicated (with subsequent vowel lengthening of the first syllable) to increase emphasis: *yuyúyo*. Reduplicated demonstratives for each class are summarized in the table below:

CLASS	DISTAL	REDUPL. DISTAL	DOUBLY REDUPL. DISTAL	ANAPHORIC EMPHATIC <sub>1</sub>	REDUP. ANAPHORIC EMPHATIC <sub>1</sub>
1	<i>yúla</i>	<i>yuyúla</i>	<i>yuyúlayula</i>	<i>yúyo</i>	<i>yuuyúyo</i>
2	<i>vála</i>	<i>vavála</i>	<i>vaválavala</i>	<i>vávo</i>	<i>vaavávo</i>
3	<i>gúla</i>	<i>gugúla</i>	<i>gugúlagula</i>	<i>gúgo</i>	<i>guugúgo</i>
4	<i>gíla</i>	<i>gigíla</i>	<i>gigílagila</i>	<i>gígyo</i>	<i>giigígyo</i>
5	<i>líla</i>	<i>lilíla</i>	<i>lilílalila</i>	<i>lílyo</i>	<i>liilílyo</i>
6	<i>gála</i>	<i>gagála</i>	<i>gagálagala</i>	<i>gágo</i>	<i>gaagágo</i>
7	<i>híla</i>	<i>hihíla</i>	<i>hihilahila</i>	<i>híhyo</i>	<i>hiihíhyo</i>
8	<i>fíla</i>	<i>fifíla</i>	<i>fifílafila</i>	<i>fífyo</i>	<i>fiifífyo</i>
9	<i>yíla</i>	<i>yiýíla</i>	<i>yiýílayila</i>	<i>yíyo</i>	<i>yiiyíyo</i>
10	<i>dzíla</i>	<i>dzidzíla</i>	<i>dzidzíladzila</i>	<i>dzídzo</i>	<i>dziidzídzo</i>
11	<i>lúla</i>	<i>lulúla</i>	<i>lulúlalula</i>	<i>lúlo</i>	<i>luulúlo</i>
12	<i>hála</i>	<i>hahála</i>	<i>hahálahala</i>	<i>háho</i>	<i>haaháho</i>
13	<i>túla</i>	<i>tutúla</i>	<i>tutúlatula</i>	<i>túto</i>	<i>tuutúto</i>
14	<i>wúla</i>	<i>wuwúla</i>	<i>wuwúlawula</i>	<i>wúwo</i>	<i>wuuwúwo</i>
15	<i>húla</i>	<i>huhúla</i>	<i>huhúlahula</i>	<i>húho</i>	<i>huuhúho</i>
16	<i>pála</i>	<i>papála</i>	<i>papálapala</i>	<i>pápo</i>	<i>paapápo</i>
17	<i>húla</i>	<i>huhúla</i>	<i>huhúlahula</i>	<i>húho</i>	<i>huuhúho</i>
18	<i>múla</i>	<i>mumúla</i>	<i>mumúlamula</i>	<i>múmo</i>	<i>muumúmo</i>
20	<i>gúla</i>	<i>gugúla</i>	<i>gugúlagula</i>	<i>gúgo</i>	<i>guugúgo</i>

Table 4.26 Reduplicated demonstratives

## 4.2.3.2.3 Combination of demonstratives

The first anaphoric emphatic demonstrative may be used in combination with the medial demonstrative (which can serve as an anaphoric demonstrative) in order to increase the degree of emphasis and specificity. The anaphoric emphatic demonstrative

occurs first, followed by the medial demonstrative. Thus, for example, in Class 1 the combined version is *yúyo uyo*; for Class 2, *vávo avo*; for Class 3, *gúgo ugo*; etc. The resultant meaning is “that very X” (with a high degree of emphasis).

#### 4.2.3.2.4 Contraction of demonstratives with other words

Finally, the medial (also anaphoric) demonstrative may be contracted with the adjective *-ngi* ‘other’ or with the reflexive pronoun *-eene*. The resultant meaning are ‘that other one’ or ‘that one itself’, respectively. Forms are summarized below:

CLASS	MEDIAL	<i>-ngi</i> 'OTHER'	MEDIAL + <i>-ngi</i> 'THAT OTHER'	<i>-eene</i> '-SELF'	MEDIAL + <i>-eene</i> 'THAT ONE ITSELF'
1	<i>úyo</i>	<i>yuungi</i>	<i>uyuungúyo</i>	<i>mweene</i>	<i>mweenúyo</i>
2	<i>ávo</i>	<i>vaangi</i>	<i>avaangávo</i>	<i>veene</i>	<i>veenávo</i>
3	<i>úgo</i>	<i>guungi</i>	<i>uguungúgo</i>	<i>gweene</i>	<i>gweenúgo</i>
4	<i>ígyo</i>	<i>giingi</i>	<i>igiingígyo</i>	<i>gyeene</i>	<i>gyeenígyo</i>
5	<i>ílyo</i>	<i>liingi</i>	<i>iliingílyo</i>	<i>lyeene</i>	<i>lyeenílyo</i>
6	<i>ágo</i>	<i>gaangi</i>	<i>agaangágo</i>	<i>geene</i>	<i>geenágo</i>
7	<i>íhyo</i>	<i>hiingi</i>	<i>ihiiingíhyo</i>	<i>hyeene</i>	<i>hyeeníhyo</i>
8	<i>ífyo</i>	<i>fiingi</i>	<i>ifiingífyo</i>	<i>fyeene</i>	<i>fyeenífyo</i>
9	<i>íyo</i>	<i>yiingi</i>	<i>iyiingíyo</i>	<i>yeene</i>	<i>yeeníyo</i>
10	<i>ídzo</i>	<i>dziingi</i>	<i>idziingídzo</i>	<i>dzeene</i>	<i>dzeenídzo</i>
11	<i>úlo</i>	<i>luungi</i>	<i>uluungúlo</i>	<i>lweene</i>	<i>lweenúlo</i>
12	<i>áho</i>	<i>haangi</i>	<i>ahaangáho</i>	<i>heene</i>	<i>heenáho</i>
13	<i>úto</i>	<i>tuungi</i>	<i>utuungúto</i>	<i>tweene</i>	<i>tweenúto</i>
14	<i>úwo</i>	<i>wuungi</i>	<i>uwuungúwo</i>	<i>weene</i>	<i>weenúwo</i>
15	<i>úho</i>	<i>huungi</i>	<i>uhuungúho</i>	<i>hweene</i>	<i>hweenúho</i>
16	<i>ápo</i>	<i>paangi</i>	<i>apaangápo</i>	<i>peene</i>	<i>peenápo</i>
17	<i>úho</i>	<i>huungi</i>	<i>uhuungúho</i>	<i>hweene</i>	<i>hweenúho</i>
18	<i>úmo</i>	<i>muungi</i>	<i>umuungúmo</i>	<i>mweene</i>	<i>mweenúmo</i>
20	<i>úgo</i>	<i>guungi</i>	<i>uguungúgo</i>	<i>gweene</i>	<i>gweenúgo</i>

Table 4.27 Contractions of demonstratives with *-ngi* 'other' and *-eene* '-self'

Of these contracted forms, some are considerably more frequently used than others.

Specifically, *uyuungúyo* 'someone else' and *avaangávo* 'some other people' are commonly used as demonstrative pronouns, as well as *apaangápo* 'someplace else'.

*Hweenúho* 'that place itself' is also in fairly common use. *Idzeenidzo* (*dzeenídzo* with the

addition of an augment) is in extremely common use as a demonstrative pronoun meaning ‘these things’.

#### 4.2.4 Numerals

Numbers one through five in Bena consist of a stem which is prefixed with the agreement class prefix of the head noun. All other numerals do not inflect for class.

Ordinal numerals are formed using the associative construction followed by a numeral.

Finally, there are a set of quantifiers which inflect for noun class. Each of these is discussed in the following sections.

##### 4.2.4.1 Cardinal numerals

Bena numerals have a base-ten system. As discussed above, numerals one through five are prefixed with the agreement class prefix; all other numerals are uninflected nouns.<sup>26</sup> Numeral stems in Bena are summarized below:

<b>1</b>	<i>-mwiinga,</i> <i>-mwi</i>	<b>6</b>	<i>mútaanda</i>	<b>10s</b>	<i>mákyumi</i>
<b>2</b>	<i>-vili</i>	<b>7</b>	<i>mufúng'ati</i>	<b>100</b>	<i>ligána</i>
<b>3</b>	<i>-datu</i>	<b>8</b>	<i>múnaana</i>	<b>100s</b>	<i>magána</i>
<b>4</b>	<i>-taaye</i>	<b>9</b>	<i>múgoondza</i>	<b>1000</b>	<i>mbilíma</i>
<b>5</b>	<i>-haanu/-</i> <i>haano</i>	<b>10</b>	<i>nyikyumi</i>	<b>1000s</b>	<i>mbilíma</i>

Table 4.28 Numerals

<sup>26</sup> In reality, most Bena speakers of all ages borrow from Swahili for most numerals, but especially for those higher than five.

Note that for the stems *-kyumi* ‘ten’, *-gana* ‘hundred’, and *-bilima* ‘thousand’ both singular and plural forms are given. These numerals do not agree with the head noun in class; instead, the plural form is used for multiples of ten or one hundred (see further discussion below).

Uninflected numerals are nouns and, like other nouns, they have inherent noun classes which are marked with a prefix. Numerals six through nine belong to Class 3. *Nyíkyumi* ‘ten’ is a Class 9 noun and takes its plural in Class 6 (*mákyumi*). *Ligána* ‘hundred’ belongs to Class 5. Its plural belongs to Class 6 (*mágana*). Finally, *mbilima* ‘thousand’ belongs to Class 9 and takes its plural in Class 10 (*mbilima*).

Several examples illustrating the use of numerals are given below:

- |       |  |  |
|-------|--|--|
| (177) | <i>avaana</i><br>a-va-ana<br>AUG-CL2-child<br>‘two children’           | <i>vávili</i><br>va-vili<br>CL2-two                            |
| (178) | <i>muluungu</i><br>mu-luungu<br>CL3-week<br>‘one week, a certain week’ | <i>gumwiinga/gúmwi</i><br>gu-mwiinga/gu-mwi<br>CL3-one/CL3-one |
| (179) | <i>mákaang’a</i><br>ma-kaang’a<br>CL6-egg<br>‘one hundred’             | <i>ligána</i><br>li-gana<br>CL5-hundred                        |
| (180) | <i>ikááye</i><br>i-kaaye<br>AUG-house<br>‘eight houses’                | <i>múnaana</i><br>munaana<br>eight                             |

As shown in Table 4.28 and in example (178) above, there are two different forms for the numeral ‘one’, *-mwiinga* and *-mwi*. Both *-mwiinga* and *-mwi* can be used to



indicate the number ‘one’; however in certain contexts *-mwi* can also mean ‘a certain’. (*-mwiinga* never takes this second meaning). None of the other numerals have alternate meanings.

When counting specific objects, speakers use the appropriate noun class of the objects being counted. However, when asked, for example, to count from one to ten, speakers differ with respect to which noun classes they use. Some prefer to use Classes 7/8 (*hímwiinga*, *fívilí*, *fídatu...*) where others use Classes 9/10 (*yímwiinga*, *dzívilí*, *dzídatu...*). Still others prefer to use ordinal numbers when counting (see the next section).

Numerals 11-19 use the formula ‘ten and X’. Agreement on the final numeral is with the noun being counted (note that in example (181) the final noun ‘one’ takes Class 1 agreement because the word ‘one’ is singular, even though there is more than one child):

- |       |   |   |                        |   |
|-------|---|---|------------------------|---|
| (181) | <i>aváána</i><br>a-va-ana<br>AUG-CL2-child<br>‘eleven children’ | <i>nyíkyumi</i><br>N-yikyumi<br>CL9-ten | <i>na</i><br>na<br>and | <i>yumwiinga</i><br>yu-mwiinga<br>CL1-one |
| (182) | <i>aváána</i><br>a-va-ana<br>AUG-CL2-child<br>‘twelve children’ | <i>nyíkyumi</i><br>N-yikyumi<br>CL9-ten | <i>na</i><br>na<br>and | <i>vávili</i><br>va-vili<br>CL2-two       |
| (183) | <i>ifíínu</i><br>i-fi-nu<br>AUG-CL8-thing<br>‘twelve things’    | <i>nyíkyumi</i><br>N-yikyumi<br>CL9-ten | <i>na</i><br>na<br>and | <i>fívilí</i><br>fi-vili<br>CL8-two       |
| (184) | <i>ifíínu</i><br>i-fi-nu<br>AUG-CL8-thing                       | <i>nyíkyumi</i><br>N-yikyumi<br>CL9-ten | <i>na</i><br>na<br>and | <i>mánuunu</i><br>manuunu<br>eight        |



#### 4.2.4.2 Ordinal numerals

Ordinal numerals are formed by using the associative construction (see 4.2.5) followed by the numeral. In ordinals, Class 14 prefixes are used with those numerals that inflect; for non-inflecting numerals the standard form is used.

- (188) *ihigóno*            *hya*            *wúvili*  
           i-hi-gono        hi-a            wu-vili  
           AUG-CL7-day    CL7-ASSOC   CL14-two  
           ‘the second day’
- (189) *ihigóno*            *hya*            *múnaana*  
           i-hi-gono        hi-a            munaana  
           AUG-CL7-day    CL7-ASSOC   eight  
           ‘the eighth day’

#### 4.2.4.3 Quantifiers

While numerals take the agreement class prefix, the Bena quantifiers *-ólofu* ‘many’ and *-keefu* ‘few’ are prefixed with the noun class prefix. The quantifier *-onda* ‘whole/all’ takes the agreement class prefix.

- (190) *amasóli*            *góónda*  
           a-ma-sóli        ga-onda  
           AUG-CL6-grass   CL6-all  
           ‘all the grass’
- (191) *umulúlu*            *goonda*  
           u-mu-lúlu        gu-onda  
           AUG-CL3-leaf    CL3-all  
           ‘the whole leaf’
- (192) *fidíimwa*            *fikeefu*  
           fi-díimwa        fi-keefu  
           CL8-animal        CL8-few  
           ‘few animals’

- (193) *ng'wáále*            *ndzólofu*  
 N-kwáále            N-olofu  
 CL10-pheasant    CL10-many  
 'many pheasants'

#### 4.2.5 Associative construction

The associative construction is used to connect two nouns (or noun phrases), where the first noun (the head noun) is modified in some way by the second. This construction can also be referred to as a “nominal connexive” (i.e., Maganga and Schadeburg 1992, Harjula 2004). With the exception of Classes 17 and 18, the associative is formed by prefixing the stem *a* with the agreement class prefix of the head noun. The Class 17 and 18 forms are *hu* and *mu*, respectively. Forms of the associative construction are summarized below:

CLASS	ASSOC.	CLASS	ASSOC.	CLASS	ASSOC.
1	<i>va</i>	8	<i>fya</i>	15	<i>hwa</i>
2	<i>va</i>	9	<i>ya</i>	16	<i>pa</i>
3	<i>gwa</i>	10	<i>dza</i>	17	<i>hu</i>
4	<i>gya</i>	11	<i>lwa</i>	18	<i>mu</i>
5	<i>lya</i>	12	<i>ha</i>	20	<i>gwa</i>
6	<i>ga</i>	13	<i>twa</i>		
7	<i>hya</i>	14	<i>wa</i>		

Table 4.29 The associative construction

The associative construction agrees with the noun class of the head noun:

- (194) *máwoho*    *ga*            *mwééne*  
           ma-woho    ga-a            mweene  
           CL6-hand   CL6-ASSOC   CL1.PRO  
           ‘his hands’

(08Nov17a: *Bena Funerals*, line 093)

When the head noun is a locative, the associative agrees with the noun’s inherent class

(not with the locative class), as in the examples below:

- (195) *huhísima*        *hya*            *lúleenga*  
           hu-hi-sima        hi-a            lu-lenga  
           CL17-CL7-well   CL7-ASSOC   CL11-well  
           ‘at the well of water’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 017)

- (196) *humyááha*        *gya*            *hútaló*  
           hu-mi-aha        gi-a            hu-talo  
           CL17-CL4-year   CL4-ASSOC   CL17-future  
           ‘in the years of the future’

(08Oct02c, *The Price of Eggs*, line 026)

In Bena, as in other Bantu languages, the associative serves a wide variety of purposes.

The associative is used 1) to express possession; 2) in various expressions of location; 3) in non-adjectival expressions of attribution; and 4) with ordinal numerals. The first three types of the associative are discussed in the following subsections; ordinal numerals were discussed in 4.2.4.2.

#### 4.2.5.1 Possession

When a possessive pronoun is not used, the associative is used to describe possession in Bena. The head noun (the first noun) is possessed by the second.

- (197) *avidzuhulu*                      *va*                      *mwééne*  
a-va-idzuhulu                      va-a                      mweene  
AUG-CL2-grandchild                      CL2-ASSOC CL1.PRO  
‘her grandchildren’

(08Oct31a, *Don't Eat the Tubers*, line 037)

- (198) *indziimbo*                      *dza*                      *Vabéna*  
i-N-iimbo                      dzi-a                      va-bena  
AUG-CL10-song                      CL10-ASSOC CL2-Bena  
‘the songs of the Bena’

(08Oct03b, *Bena Music*, line 001)

- (199) *muléfu*                      *gwa*                      *yaayé*  
mu-lefu                      gu-a                      yaaya-é  
CL3-beard CL3-ASSOC                      uncle-CL1.POSS  
‘his uncle’s beard’

(08Oct06a, *Riddles*, line 075)

In some cases, possession may be doubly marked. In other words, the head noun (possessum) is marked with the possessive clitic *-é*<sup>27</sup> and is further modified by the associative construction clarifying who the possessor is:

- (200) *udaadé*                      *va*                      *ngamu*                      *sunguula*  
u-daad-e                      va-a                      ngamu                      sunguula  
AUG-father-CL1.POSS                      CL1-ASSOC                      clever                      hare  
‘the father of the hare’

(08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3*, line 073)

#### 4.2.5.2 Expressions of location

The associative may also be used with certain expressions of location:

<sup>27</sup> The possessive clitic is discussed in 4.2.1.3.

- (201) **mugáti**      **mu**      **mutúúmbwi**  
 mu-gati      mu-a      mu-tuumbwi  
 CL18-inside CL18-ASSOC CL3-boat  
 ‘inside the boat’

(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many*: CM, line 094)

- (202) **palúbali**      **pa**      **hitaanda**  
 pa-lu-bali      pa-a      hi-taanda  
 CL16-CL11-side CL16-ASSOC CL7-bed  
 ‘beside the bed’

(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many*: CM, line 177)

In these expressions of location, the associative agrees with the locative noun class, rather than with a noun’s inherent class, as shown by (202).

#### 4.2.5.3 Attributive constructions

The third type of associative construction is one where the second noun describes some property or characteristic of the first. Because of the restricted number of adjectives in Bena (see section 4.2.2), the associative is a fairly common strategy for modifying nouns. Several examples are given below:

- (203) **ihisaandzi**      **hya**      **liloongo**  
 i-hi-saandzi      hi-a      li-loongo  
 AUG-CL7-bin CL7-ASSOC CL5-dirt  
 ‘grain bins (made) of dirt’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 086)

- (204) **indziimbo**      **dza**      **lukéélo**  
 i-N-iimbo      dzi-a      lu-keelo  
 AUG-CL10-song CL10-ASSOC CL11-happiness  
 ‘songs of happiness’

(08Oct03b, *Bena Music*, line 004)

- (205) *myaaha*      *gya*      *néng'uni*  
 mi-aaha      gi-a      nen'guni  
 CL4-year      CL4-ASSOC      today  
 'years of today (present day)'

(08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 013)

- (206) *líwoho*      *ilyá*      *ng'igi*  
 li-woho      i-li-a      ng'igi  
 CL5-hand      AUG-CL5-ASSOC      left  
 'left hand'

(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM*, line 101)

- (207) *lilúgu*      *lya*      *avaanu*      *avavína*  
 li-lugu-      li-a      a-va-nu      a-va-vina  
 CL5-group      CL5-ASSOC      AUG-CL2-person      AUG-CL2-big  
 'group of adults'

(08Oct16f, *Taboos*, line 006)

A subset of the attributive type of associative construction involves the modification of the first noun by a Class 15 noun (verbal infinitive). In these constructions, the infinitive usually clarifies the purpose or use of the head noun. As is shown by (208) below, the verbal infinitive itself can also take an object. The construction in (209) is rather unusual, in that the second noun *avatámwa* 'patients' would normally be the subject of the verb *húgona* 'sleep'.

- (208) *imbeyu*      *iya*      *huyáála*  
 i-N-beyu      i-yi-a      hu-yaal-a  
 AUG-CL9-seed      AUG-CL9-ASSOC      CL15-plant-FV  
 'seeds for planting'

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 129)



- (209) *inyúúmba*      *dza*      *húgona*      *avatámwa*  
 i-N-yuumba      dzi-a      hu-gon-a      a-va-tamwa  
 AUG-CL10-house      CL10-ASSOC      CL15-sleep-FV      AUG-CL2-sick  
 ‘houses for sleeping patients (hospital wards)’  
 (08Oct02a, *LN's Life Story*, line 022)
- (210) *ihiyúúmba*      *ihingi*      *hya*      *huvíha*      *ifílyo*  
 i-hi-yuumba      i-hi-ngi      hi-a      hu-vih-a      i-fi-lyo  
 AUG-CL7-room      AUG-CL7-other      CL7-ASSOC      CL15-put-FV      AUG-CL8-crop  
 ‘another room for storing crops’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 129)

#### 4.2.5.4 Headless associative constructions

In some cases, the head noun does not occur immediately before the associative.

In the following example, the associative construction *wa húpona* (‘of/for healing’) refers back to the noun at the beginning of the sentence, *uwutámwa* ‘disease’:

- (211) *Uwutámwa*      *úwu,*      *nde*      *wuhali*      *wa*      *húpona,*      *íípona*  
 u-wu-tamwa      uwu      nde      wu-ha-li      wu-a      hu-pon-a      a-i-pon-a  
 AUG-CL14-      PROX.      if      CL14-PAST-COP      CL14-      CL15-heal-FV      CL1-PRES-  
 disease      DEM.14           ASSOC      heal-FV  
 ‘This disease, if it was healable, s/he got better.’  
 (08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 007)

With some noun classes, it is not necessary to state the head noun. For example, use of

Class 7 concord patterns with no head noun implies *hiinu* ‘thing/something’:

- (212) *Ndiléémwa*      *hya*      *húdzova.*  
 ndi-leemw-a      hi-a      hu-dzov-a  
 1SG-be.unable.FV      CL7-ASSOC      CL15-say-FV  
 ‘I am unable to speak/I don’t have anything to say.’  
 (08Oct16c, *The Prodigal Son*, line 252)



- (214) *Pahúva ndísaha ifilyo fila fitanáge*  
 pahúva ndi-sah-a i-fi-lyo fila fi-tan-ag-e  
 because 1SG-want-FV AUG.8-CL8-crop DIST.DEM.8 CL8-NEG-NARR-FV  
  
*uhupúúlwa namasóli gaangi.*  
 u-hu-puul-w-a na =ma-soli ga-ngi  
 AUG.15-take. over-PASS-FV AUG.6-CL6-grass-FV CL6-other  
 ‘Because I want that those crops not be taken over by other grasses.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 076)

- (215) *Pahátaali, aali pwaali ungamusungúla*  
 pa-hataali a-a-li pwa-a-li u-ngamu-sungula  
 CL16-long.ago CL1-P4-COP CL16-P4-COP AUG-clever-hare  
 ‘Once upon a time there was a clever hare and other forest animals.’  
  
*nifing’óho fiingi fya mudáási.*  
 na=i-fi-ng’oho fi-ngi fi-a mu-daasi  
 and=AUG-CL8-animal CL8-other CL8. ASSOC CL18-forest  
 ‘Once upon a time there was a clever hare and other forest animals.’  
 (08Oct10b, *The Hare and his Wife*, line 001)

When *-ngi* stands alone, it always contrasts with something or someone else. Rather than modifying a head noun, it serves as the syntactic head of an NP and means ‘another one’ or ‘others’.

- (216) *Avaangi pakilo vííduva, víínywa uwúgiimbi.*  
 a-va-ngi pa-kilo va-i-duv-a va-i-nyw-a u-wu-giimbi  
 AUG-CL2-other CL16-night CL2-PRES-dance-FV CL2-PRES-drink-FV AUG-CL4-beer  
 ‘Others at night dance (and) drink beer.’  
 (08Oct03b, *Bena Music*, line 014)

- (217) *Haya, tibitáge, na yuungi itegulága uwúgali, na yuungi uwugali.*  
 haya ti-bit-ag-e na yu-ngi i-tegul-ag-a u-wu-gali na yu-ngi u-wu-gali  
 okay 1PL-go- and CL1- CL1-take- AUG-CL14- and CL1- AUG-CL14-  
 IPFV-FV other IPFV-FV porridge other porridge  
 ‘Okay, let’s go; one (another) will take (his) porridge and the other (his) ugali.’  
 (08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*, line 006)

With the Class 12 prefix *ha-*, *háangi* takes the specialized meaning ‘again’:

- (218) *Haangi tiheléla húkina.*  
 ha-ngi ti-helel-a hu-kin-a  
 CL12-other 1PL-go-FV CL15-play-FV  
 ‘Again we go to play.’

(08Oct01b, *Growing Up*, line 014)

#### 4.2.6.2 *-onda*<sup>28</sup> ‘whole, all’

The stem *-onda* means ‘whole’ when modifying singular nouns and ‘all’ with plural nouns. It follows the noun it modifies and takes the agreement class prefix of the head noun.

- (219) *Ilílaamba lyaváángile uhúmema nuhúmela ulútanana loonda.*  
 i-li-laamba li-a-vaang-ile u-hu-mem-a na=u-hu-mel-a u-lu-tanana lu-onda  
 AUG-CL5- CL5-PST- AUG-CL15- AND=AUG-CL15- AUG-CL11- CL11-all  
 swamp begin-FV fill-FV swallow-FV valley  
 ‘The swamp began to fill up and swallow the whole valley.’

(08Oct06c, *Swamp Girl*, line 053)

- (220) *Avídzuhulu vilidzága íng’iing’i dzoonda.*  
 a-va-idzuhulu va-i-liy-ag-a i-ng’iing’i dzi-onda  
 AUG-CL2-grandchild CL2-eat-IPFV-FV AUG-tubers CL10-all  
 ‘The grandchildren ate all the tubers.’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 006)

Class 1/2 nouns do not use the agreement class prefix with *-onda*; instead, they take the noun class prefix. Consider the following examples, where (221) shows proper formation of *-onda* with a Class 1 noun using the noun class prefix, while (222) shows that the agreement class prefix results in an ungrammatical form:

<sup>28</sup> The dialectal variant *-ondi* is used in the southwest; *-onde* is used in the southeast..

- (221) *muunu*            ***moonda***  
           mu-nu            mu-onda  
           CL1-person CL1-whole  
           ‘whole person’
- (222) \**muunu*            ***yoonda***

When *-onda* stands alone with no head noun, it means ‘the whole thing/person’ or ‘everyone/everything.’

- (223) ***Dzoonda*** *mulupiinga*    *lwáángu*            *dzali*            *niitu*            *tu*.  
           dzi-onda    mu=lu-piinga    lu-angu            dzi-a-li            N-tiitu            tu  
           CL10-all    CL18-CL11-herd    CL11-1SG.POSS    CL10-PST-COP    CL10-black    only  
           ‘Everything in my herd was only black.’

(08Oct06a, Riddles, line 035)

When prefixed with the Class 16 agreement class prefix, *-onda* takes the specialized meaning ‘every day’:

- (224) *Ndihwa*            *nindzáála*            ***póónda***.  
           ndi-hu-a            na=i-N-aala            pa-onda  
           1SG-remain-FV    and=AUG-CL9-hunger    CL16-all  
           ‘I remain hungry every day.’

(08Sept01d, The Hare and the Hyena, line 077)

#### 4.2.6.3 *-o -onda*<sup>29</sup> ‘any at all’

For Classes 3-20, this construction is formed by combining *-onda* forms (discussed above) with the stem *-o* prefixed with the agreement class prefix. A more transparent schematic of this construction is given below, with several illustrations:

- (225) **Class**    **ACP**    **-o**    **ACP**    **-onda**    →    *hyohyóónda*    ‘anything at all’  
           7        hi-        -o        hi-        -onda    →    *fyofyóónda*    ‘anything(s) at all’  
           8        fi-        -o        fi-        -onda    →    *popóónda*        ‘any place at all’  
           16       pa-        -o        pa-        -onda

<sup>29</sup> The dialectal variant *-o-onde* is used in the southwest; *-o-onde* is used in the southeast.

With Class 1/2 nouns, the formation of this construction is slightly different. Rather than using the noun class prefix (as Class 1/2 nouns do with the stem *-onda*), Class 1/2 nouns use the agreement class prefix. Rather than using the *-o* stem, Class 1/2 nouns use the relative stem *-e*:

- (226) 

<b>Class</b>	<b>NCP</b>	<b>-e</b>	<b>NCP</b>	<b>-onda</b>			
1	yu-	-e	yu-	-onda	→	<i>yeyóonda</i>	‘anyone at all’
2	va-	-e	va-	-onda	→	<i>vevóonda</i>	‘any people at all’

Examples of the *-o-onda* construction are given below:

- (227) 

<i>Utwinyáma</i>	<i>twa</i>	<i>fing’óho</i>	<i>fyofyóonda</i>	<i>fila,</i>	<i>ndeve</i>
u-tu-inyama	tu-a	fi-ng’oho	fi-o-fi-onda	fila	ndeve
AUG-CL13-meat	CL13.ASSOC	CL8-animal	CL8-at.all	CL8.DIST.DEM	even

  
*ng’uhu, ndeve sungula iikamáta, íliya.*  
 ng’uhu ndeve sungula a-i-kamat-a a-i-liy-a  
 chicken even hare CL1-PRES-seize-FV CL1-PRES-eat-FV  
 ‘(Bits of) meat of any animal at all, even chickens, even hares, he caught (them) and ate (them).’  
 (08Oct17b, *The Hyena and the Hare*, line 008)
- (228) 

<i>Wala</i>	<i>atane</i>	<i>uhúlima</i>	<i>amalímo</i>	<i>gogoonda.</i>
wala	a-tan-e	u-hu-lim-a	a-ma-limo	ga-o-ga-onda
neither	CL1-NEG-FV	AUG-CL15-do-FV	AUG-CL6-work	CL6-at.all

 ‘Neither did she do any work at all.’  
 (08Oct06c, *Swamp Girl*, line 045)

#### 4.2.6.4 *-eene* ‘self, alone’

The stem *-eene* when prefixed with the agreement class prefix (except in the case of Class 1, which takes the noun class prefix) means ‘self’ or ‘alone’:

- (229) *Pahúva, nde adzíge mwééne, ípata mahódzo mólofu*  
 pahuva nde a-dzig-e mu-eene a-i-pat-a ma-hodzo ma-olofu  
 because if CL1-remain-FV CL1-self CL1-PRES- get-FV CL6-thought CL6-many  
 ‘Because if he remains alone, he will have many thoughts.’  
 (08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 030)

As discussed in 4.2.1.1.2 above, *-eene* can also be used as a pronoun.

#### 4.2.6.5 -e-eene ‘-self’

*-e-eene* is slightly more emphatic than *-eene* alone and is usually best translated as ‘self’ (‘himself’, ‘itself’, etc.). This construction is formed by preceding *-eene* (discussed above) with the relativizer *-e*.

- |       |              |            |           |                   |              |   |                  |                    |
|-------|--------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|--------------|---|------------------|--------------------|
| (230) | <b>Class</b> | <b>ACP</b> | <b>-e</b> | <b>ACP</b>        | <b>-eene</b> |   |                  |                    |
|       | 1            | yu-        | -e        | mu- <sup>30</sup> | -eene        | → | <i>mwemweene</i> | ‘himself/ herself’ |
|       | 2            | va-        | -e        | va-               | -eene        | → | <i>veveene</i>   | ‘themselves’       |
|       | 7            | hi-        | -e        | hi-               | -eene        | → | <i>hyehyeene</i> | ‘itself’           |

Below is an example of the *-e-eene* construction:

- (231) *Ulúsmo úlu lwitígila lwelweene deena...*  
 u-lu-simo ulu lu-i-tigil-a lu-e-lu-eene deena  
 AUG-CL11-story CL11.PROX.DEM CL11-PRES-say-FV CL11-self thus  
 ‘This story itself says thus...’  
 (08Oct16c, Prodigal Son, line 001)

#### 4.2.6.6 Inflected interrogatives

There are two types of inflected interrogatives in Bena. The first inflected interrogative *-hi* ‘which’ utilizes noun class prefixes; the second *-liinga* ‘how many’ uses

<sup>30</sup> Class 1 nouns use the noun class prefix with the stem *-eene*.

the agreement class prefixes. Both types of interrogatives are discussed below (other types of interrogatives are discussed together with other uninflected words in Chapter 6).

#### 4.2.6.6.1 Inflected interrogative *-hi* ‘which’

The inflected interrogative is formed by prefixing the stem *-hi* ‘which’ with the appropriate noun class prefix (not the agreement class prefix). The meaning of the inflected interrogative can broadly be given as ‘which’. Other meanings are possible when the inflected interrogative is used within a phrase: *pee hihi* means ‘where’ (literally ‘at what’) and *hwe hihi* and *hya hihi* can both be translated ‘why’ (literally ‘for what’). (See 7.1.7 for further discussion of Bena question formation; this section will focus solely on the use of the inflected interrogative within a noun phrase.) Forms of the inflected interrogative and several examples are given below:

CLASS	<i>-hi</i>	CLASS	<i>-hi</i>	CLASS	<i>-hi</i>
1	<i>múhi</i>	8	<i>fíhi</i>	15	<i>húhi</i>
2	<i>váhi</i>	9	<i>nyíhi</i>	16	<i>páhi</i>
3	<i>múhi</i>	10	<i>nyíhi</i>	17	<i>húhi</i>
4	<i>míhi</i>	11	<i>lúhi</i>	18	<i>múhi</i>
5	<i>líhi</i>	12	<i>háhi</i>	19	<i>gúhi</i>
6	<i>máhi</i>	13	<i>túhi</i>		
7	<i>híhi</i>	14	<i>wúhi</i>		

Table 4.30 The inflected interrogative *-hi* ‘which’

- (232) *Matawa máhi?*  
 ma-tawa ma-hi  
 CL6-name CL6-which  
 ‘Which names?’

(08Sept01d: *The Hare and the Hyena*, line 040)



- (233) *Sida nyihi?*  
 sida nyi-hi  
 problem CL9-which  
 ‘Which problem?’

(08Oct16c, *The Prodigal Son*, line 065)

- (234) *Hiinu hihi?*  
 hi-nu hi-hi  
 CL7-thing CL7-which  
 ‘Which thing?/What is it?’

(08Oct16f, *Taboos*, line 030)

With no head noun, use of the inflected interrogative with Class 7 concord means simply ‘what’ (or ‘which thing’):

- (235) *Húno huli hihi?*  
 huno hu-li hi-hi  
 there CL17-COP CL7-which  
 ‘What’s there?’

(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM*, line 020)

- (236) *Vígita hihi?*  
 va-i-git-a hi-hi  
 CL2-PRES-do-FV CL7-which  
 ‘What are they doing?’

(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM*, line 025)

#### 4.2.6.6.2 Inflected interrogative *-linga*<sup>31</sup> ‘how many’

The second type of inflected interrogative is formed by prefixing *-linga* ‘how many’ with the agreement class prefix of the head noun. Thus it differs from other quantifiers (which use the noun class prefix) but is similar to numerals (which take the agreement class prefix). Forms of the inflected interrogative *-linga* are summarized below:

<sup>31</sup> The dialectal variant *-lingi* is used in the southwest.

CLASS	-linga	CLASS	-linga
2	váliinga	10	dzíliinga
4	gíliinga	12	túliinga
6	gáliinga	14	wúliinga
8	filíinga		

Table 4.31 The inflected interrogative -linga 'how many'

- (237) *Siliingi dzíliinga?*  
 siliingi dzi-linga  
 shilling CL10-how.many  
 'How many shillings?'

(08Oct02c: *The Price of Eggs*, line 027)

- (238) *Tuli váliinga?*  
 tu-li va-linga  
 1PL-COP CL2-how.many  
 'How many of us (were there)?'

(08Oct06c, *Swamp Girl*, line 027)

- (239) *Wúúhi wúliinga?*  
 wu-hi wu-linga  
 CL14-honey CL14-how.many  
 'How much honey?'

### 4.3 Summary

This chapter has described major elements of the noun phrase. The first portion of the chapter was devoted to nominal morphology. I described Bena's noun class system in detail—for each of Bena's 19 classes I listed the form of the noun class prefix and made some semantic generalizations about the types of nouns that belong to the class. This was followed by a discussion of the ways in which singular and plural classes can be paired. The following section discussed the augment in Bena. I showed that while

generalizations about the use of the augment in Bena are still somewhat tentative, its use is conditioned by a combination of factors such as referentiality, topicality, and definiteness. Following this was a discussion of the four major types of nominal derivation: noun-noun derivation (using noun class substitution), adjective-noun derivation (through the addition of a noun class prefix), verb-noun derivation (using one of several nominalizing suffixes), compounding, and reduplication.

The second half of the chapter was devoted to a description of the noun phrase and the other elements that can occur in a noun phrase (pronouns, adjectives, demonstratives, numerals, the associative construction, and inflected interrogatives). For each type of modifier I described the form of the modifier and the ways in which it is used. In Chapter 4 I discuss another major word class in Bena: the verb.

## **Chapter 5**

### **Verbal Morphology**

Like other Bantu languages, Bena has an extremely rich verbal morphology. The verbal structure can contain numerous prefixes and suffixes. Prefixes are primarily inflectional; suffixes are primarily derivational, though some inflectional suffixes also exist. Information encoded on the verb includes subject marking, tense, aspect, negation, and various derivational properties. Bena also utilizes a series of auxiliaries which precede the verb and are used to encode tense, aspect, and mood. In addition to this, there are a few defective verbs (such as the copula and the verb for “have”) that cannot take any derivational morphology and show limited inflectional properties. This chapter discusses verbal morphology. It begins with an overview of verbal structure. This is followed by a discussion of verbal inflection. Included in this section is tense and aspect, negation, the behavior of defective verbs, use of auxiliaries, and relative clause marking which occurs on the verb. Finally, this chapter discusses verbal derivation and the 14 different verbal extensions which can be used to derive new forms of verbs.

### 5.1 Bena verbal structure

Bantu verbs have a complex morphological structure and contain numerous inflectional and derivational affixes. Nurse (2008:40) proposes the following verbal template, which is itself based on Meussen's (1967) original template proposal:<sup>1</sup>

- (1) Pre-SM + SM + NEG<sub>2</sub> + TA + OM + root + extension + FV + post-FV<sup>2</sup>

Bena utilizes each of these slots except the post-final-vowel slot. The Pre-SM slot contains the subject relative marker and the negative marker *si-*. SM contains the subject marker. NEG<sub>2</sub> can also contain the negative marker *si-* (the negative can occur either before or after the subject marker; this is discussed further in 5.2.6.1). TA contains tense-aspect morphemes. Usually only a single morpheme occurs in this slot, but there are a few cases where two morphemes can occur in the TA slot. OM contains the object marker; Bena verbs can only have a single object marker, but in some tense-aspect combinations the object marker is preceded by *hu-* (see 5.2.1). The verbal root occurs in the root slot. The extension slot can contain up to three verbal extensions. It is necessary to add a pre-FV slot, which contains the imperfective suffix *-ag*.

FV contains the final vowel, which takes the form *-a*, *-e*, or *-ile*.<sup>3</sup> The post-FV is not utilized in Bena. A slightly modified version of Nurse's template, together with the kinds of morphemes which fill each slot is given below:

<sup>1</sup> I have chosen to use Nurse's template here both because it accounts for the Bena data well, and because the terminology which it uses is understood more easily by non-Bantuists than is Meussen's.

<sup>2</sup> Pre-SM: pre-subject-marker; SM: subject-marker; NEG<sub>2</sub>: secondary negation; TA: tense-aspect; OM: object marker; FV: final vowel; post-FV: post-final-vowel.

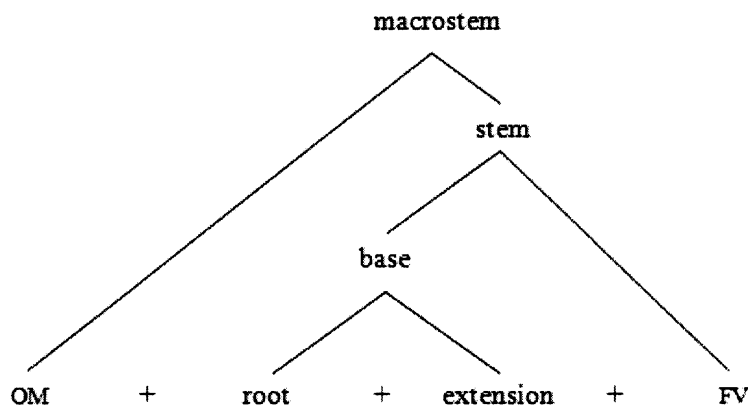
<sup>3</sup> Though *-ile* does not consist of a single vowel, it patterns in a similar manner to other final vowels *-e* and *-a*. Therefore Bantuists typically refer to the *-ile* suffix as a "final vowel". This is discussed further in 5.2.2.

<b>PRE-SM</b>	<b>SM</b>	<b>NEG</b>	<b>TA<sub>1</sub></b>	<b>TA<sub>2</sub></b>	<b>OM</b>	<b>ROOT</b>	<b>EXTENSION</b>	<b>PRE-FV</b>	<b>FV</b>
subject rel. or negative	subject marker	negative	tense- aspect	tense- aspect	object marker	verbal root	up to three extensions	IPFV	final vowel

Table 5.1 Bena verbal slots

Minimally, the subject marker, root, and final vowel slots must be filled (these three slots are filled in the verbal imperative). Most other inflected verb forms minimally fill the SM slot, TA<sub>1</sub>, root, and FV. It is possible for all ten slots to be filled simultaneously, though this is rare.

The Bena verb has a hierarchical structure. In many Bantu languages such a structure is necessary to explain various morphological, phonological, and tonal processes (Hyman 1989). The root is the portion of the verb with no derivational or inflectional affixes. The base contains all the lexical information: the root plus any derivational extensions. The stem comprises the base (root + extensions) and the final vowel. Finally, the macrostem, the highest level which can affect tonal processes, is made up of the stem plus any object markers. This hierarchical structure is shown below:



**Figure 4.1 The macrostem**

In Bena, the base is the level at which vowel height harmony takes place. The verbal stem is used in reduplication. Finally, the macrostem is necessary to explain certain tonal processes. The remainder of the inflectional morphemes occurring to the left of the object marker are not shown in Figure 4.; it is these inflectional morphemes in addition to the components of the macrostem which together form the verbal word.

Nurse proposes five major types of verbal structures that are common in Bantu: singular imperatives; inflected single words; two-word structures consisting of inflected auxiliary and infinitive; two/three-word structures consisting of inflected auxiliary(ies) and an inflected main verb; and two-word structures consisting of an infinitive followed by an inflected form of the same verb. Each of these five types can be found in Bena, though some are more common than others. Imperatives (both singular and plural) are singular words of the form SM-root-FV. Most Bena verbs take one of two forms: they are either inflected single words or combinations of inflected auxiliaries and inflected main verbs. Structures composed of an inflected auxiliary and infinitive are somewhat less

common. The final type, an infinitive followed by an inflected form of the same verb, is extremely rare.

The following sections discuss inflectional and derivational morphology in more detail. Verbal extensions are discussed in 5.3. All other affixes are inflectional; these are discussed in 5.2.

## 5.2 Verbal inflection

Bena has numerous inflectional morphemes which are discussed in this section. All of the verbal slots given in Table 5, except root and extension contain inflectional morphemes. These include subject and object markers, negation, the subject relativizer, tense and aspect markers, and the final vowel. The following subsections discuss verbal inflection. I begin with a description of epenthetic *hu-* and the final vowel, two morphemes whose distributions are not restricted to a certain tense-aspect configuration and therefore must be explained first. This is followed by a discussion of the infinitive. After that I describe subject and object markers in Bena, and then tense and aspect. The final two types of verbal inflection which are discussed here are negation and subject relativization.

### 5.2.1 Epenthetic *hu-*

There is an epenthetic morpheme in Bena, *hu-*, that occurs in the TA<sub>2</sub> slot in a certain set of environments. It is identical in form to the infinitive prefix *hu-* (and may have arisen historically from the infinitive prefix), but it is treated separately here from



the infinitive because it occurs in finite forms. Other Bantu languages such as Zulu (Buell 2005) have similar epenthetic morphemes. There does not seem to be any phonological or morphophonological generalization which can be made about the distribution of *hu-* in Bena. Because there is no functional or semantic generalization that can be made about its meaning, it is glossed here and throughout as simply E ‘epenthetic.’

The first environment in which *hu-* occurs is before object markers in the present tense:

- |     |    |  |    |  |
|-----|----|--|----|--|
| (2) | a. | <i>ndítova</i><br>ndi-i-tov-a<br>1SG-PRES-hit-FV<br>‘I am hitting’             | b. | <i>ndihumútova</i><br>ndi-hu-mu-tov-a<br>1SG-E-CL1.OBJ-hit-FV<br>‘I am hitting him/her’            |
| (3) | a. | <i>apítaanga</i><br>a-pi-tang-a<br>CL1-PERS-help-FV<br>‘s/he is still helping’ | b. | <i>apihúnaanga</i><br>a-pi-hu-N-tang-a<br>CL1-PERS-E-1SG.OBJ-help-FV<br>‘s/he is still helping me’ |

Epenthetic *hu-* is also necessary before vowel-initial verbal stems in certain tense-aspect configurations. These include all aspects in the present tense, and the perfective aspect in future<sub>2</sub> (tomorrow/crastinal future) and past<sub>2</sub> (yesterday/hesternal past). The following examples show the contrast between consonant-initial stems (which are not preceded by *hu-*) and vowel-initial stems (which must be preceded by *hu-*).

- |     |    |   |    |  |
|-----|----|---|----|--|
| (4) | a. | <i>wígona</i><br>u-i-gon-a<br>2SG-PRES-sleep-FV<br>‘you are sleeping’                         | b. | <i>wihweelúha</i><br>u-i-hu-eelúh-a<br>2SG-PRES-E-climb-FV<br>‘you are climbing’                         |
| (5) | a. | <i>udzígoná</i><br>u-dzi-gon-a<br>2SG-F <sub>2</sub> -sleep-FV<br>‘you will sleep (tomorrow)’ | b. | <i>udzihweelúha</i><br>u-dzi-hu-eelúh-a<br>2SG-F <sub>2</sub> -E-climb-FV<br>‘you will climb (tomorrow)’ |

- (6) a. *wahígona*  
       u-ahi-gon-a  
       2SG-P<sub>2</sub>-sleep-FV  
       ‘you slept (yesterday)’
- b. *wahihweelúha*  
       u-ahi-hu-eelúh-a  
       2SG-P<sub>2</sub>-E-climb-FV  
       ‘you climbed (yesterday)’

It is possible that epenthetic *hu-* developed historically from some sort of tense marker. Other Bantu languages have a *hu-* tense marker, and epenthetic *hu-* occurs in TA<sub>2</sub>, a slot normally reserved for tense-aspect markers in Bantu. Nyamwezi (F22) has a *hu-* that occurs in future and habitual forms (Maganga and Schadeburg 1992). Kagulu (G12) has a *hu-* that marks non-past tense (Petzell 2008). Petzell posits that the Kagulu non-past *ku-* arose from infinitival *ku-*. Such an analysis is possible for Bena, though in Bena *hu-* cannot be generalized to occurring in a single tense or aspect. This is why *hu-* is treated simply as epenthetic here.

### 5.2.2 Final vowel

The “final vowel” in Bantu linguistics refers to a set of suffixes that occurs at the end of a verb (in the FV slot). Typically these final vowels pattern with aspectual and mood categories. Nurse (2008) lists four “final vowels” that are common in Bantu: *-a* (neutral or indicative), *-e* (subjunctive), *-ile* (anterior), and *-aga* (imperfective). Though the final two of these suffixes are CVC sequences rather than single vowels, they are typically referred to as “final vowels” in Bantu linguistics because they pattern in similar ways to the final vowels *-e* and *-a*.

Bena has three final vowels: *-a*, *-ile*, and *-e*. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Nurse (2008) lists a fourth final vowel, *-aga*. In Bena, *-aga* can co-occur with the final vowel *-ile*. Therefore I do not treat *-aga* as a final vowel here. Instead I treat it as an imperfective morpheme *-ag* followed by the final vowel *-a*.

The final vowel *-e* is used in the subjunctive. The other two final vowels pattern with tense-aspect configurations, but it is impossible to label either of the other final vowels with a particular aspectual category, as there is overlap between the two forms. Table 5.2 compares the tense-aspect configurations which use the final vowels *-a* and *-ile*.

ASPECT	-a	-ile
perfective	present, all future tenses	all past tenses
progressive	P <sub>4</sub> , present, future	P <sub>1</sub> , P <sub>2</sub> , P <sub>3</sub>
habitual	present	P <sub>4</sub>
persistent	present	P <sub>3</sub>
anterior		all past, all future

Table 5.2. Tense-aspect configurations which use *-a* and *-ile*

As can be seen in the table above, it is impossible to label either *-a* or *-ile* exclusively with a single tense or aspect. However, some generalizations can be made. First, with the exception of the remote past (P<sub>4</sub>) progressive, all past tenses utilize the final vowel *-ile*. Second, all anterior forms use the final vowel *-ile*. Therefore as Table 5.2 shows (with the exception of the remote past progressive) the final vowel *-ile* is used with the past tense (in all aspects) and with the anterior aspect (in all tenses). The final vowel *-a* occurs in all other tense-aspect configurations.

### 5.2.3 Infinitive

The verbal infinitive is actually a Class 15 noun. Like nouns, it can be prefixed with an augment and it can be modified by other elements such as adjectives, possessives, and demonstratives (see 4.1.1.9). The verbal infinitive is formed with an optional augment, followed by the Class 15 noun class prefix *hu-*, and the verbal base (which is composed of a root, up to three extensions, and the final vowel *-a*):

(7) (augment) + Class 15 prefix *hu-* + verbal base

Verbal infinitives have APU tone—High tone occurs on the antepenultimate mora (see 2.3.4.3). Several examples of the infinitive are given below:

(8) *húgona*  
 hu-gon-a  
 CL15-sleep-FV  
 ‘to sleep’

(9) *hwáádza*  
 hu-adz-a  
 CL15-come-FV  
 ‘to come’

(10) *hugéénda*  
 hu-gend-a  
 CL15-walk-FV  
 ‘to walk’

(11) *hudindulilwa*  
 hu-dind-ul-il-w-a  
 CL15-close-SEP-APPL-PASS-FV  
 ‘to be opened by/with someone/something’

When an infinitive contains an object prefix, tone shifts to the first mora of the macrostem:

- (12) a. *híwona*  
           hu-won-a  
           CL15-see-FV  
           ‘to see’
- b. *hulíwona*  
               hu-li-won-a  
               CL15-CL5.OBJ-see-FV  
               ‘to see it’
- (13) a. *huwúúdzá*  
           hu-wuudz-a  
           CL15-ask-FV  
           ‘to ask’
- b. *humíwuudza*  
               hu-mu-wuudz-a  
               CL15-CL1.OBJ-ask-FV  
               ‘to ask him/her’

Verbal infinitives can be prefixed with a Class 18 prefix. When this happens a verbal stem has two prefixes—the Class 15 (infinitival) prefix occurs closer to the stem and is preceded by the Class 18 prefix. This is preceded by the verbal copula *li*

- (14) *Ali*           *muhúgona.*  
       a-li        mu-hu-gon-a  
       CL1-COP CL18-CL15-sleep-FV  
       ‘S/he is sleeping.’

This construction is used to indicate progressive aspect and is discussed in further detail in 5.2.5.5.1.

#### 5.2.4 Subject and object prefixes

Bena verbs are marked for person/class using a series of subject and object prefixes. With the exception of Classes 1 and 2, subject and object prefixes are identical in form to the agreement class prefix. Subject prefixes occur in the SM slot of the verb and are obligatory in all finite verb forms. They are toneless. With the exception of Classes 1 and 2, subject prefixes are identical to the agreement class prefix (see Chapter 3). Subject markers are summarized below:

CLASS	SUBJ. PREFIX	CLASS	SUBJ. PREFIX	CLASS	SUBJ. PREFIX
1SG	<i>ndi-</i>	3	<i>gu-</i>	12	<i>ha-</i>
2SG	<i>u-</i>	4	<i>gi-</i>	13	<i>tu-</i>
1PL	<i>tu-/t-</i>	5	<i>li-</i>	14	<i>wu-</i>
2PL	<i>mu-</i>	6	<i>ga-</i>	15	<i>hu-</i>
1	<i>a-</i>	7	<i>hi-</i>	16	<i>pa-</i>
2	<i>va-</i>	8	<i>fi-</i>	17	<i>hu-</i>
		9	<i>yi-</i>	18	<i>mu-</i>
		10	<i>dzi-</i>	20	<i>gu-</i>
		11	<i>lu-</i>		

Table 5.3. Subject prefixes

Subject marking is illustrated in (15) and (16):

- (15) *Ndigónile.*  
 ndi-gon-ile  
 1SG-sleep-FV  
 ‘I slept.’
- (16) *Ilíbwa ligónile.*  
 i-li-bwa li-gon-ile  
 AUG.5-cl5-dog CL5-sleep-FV  
 ‘The dog slept.’

Object prefixes occur in the OM slot of the verb. They mark the verb for person/class of the object. Unlike some other Bantu languages, Bena allows only a single object to be marked on the verb. Aside from Classes 1 and 2, object prefixes (like subject prefixes) are identical to the agreement class prefix. In present tense verbs, objects must be preceded by an epenthetic *hu-* (see 5.2.1). The presence of an object marker also changes verbal tone melody in some tense-aspect configurations (see 2.3.4.7). Object prefixes are summarized below:

CLASS	OBJ. PREFIX	CLASS	OBJ. PREFIX	CLASS	OBJ. PREFIX
1SG	<i>N-</i>	3	<i>gu-</i>	12	<i>ha-</i>
2SG	<i>hu-</i>	4	<i>gi-</i>	13	<i>tu-</i>
1PL	<i>tu-</i>	5	<i>li-</i>	14	<i>wu-</i>
2PL	<i>va-</i>	6	<i>ga-</i>	15	<i>hu-</i>
1	<i>mu-</i>	7	<i>hi-</i>	16	<i>pa-</i>
2	<i>va-</i>	8	<i>fi-</i>	17	<i>hu-</i>
		9	<i>yi-</i>	18	<i>mu-</i>
		10	<i>dzi-</i>	20	<i>gu-</i>
		11	<i>lu-</i>		

Table 5.4. Object prefixes

There is another object marker in addition to those listed in Table 5.4, the reflexive prefix *i-*. Its behavior is identical to that of the other object prefixes (it occurs in the OM slot of the verb, triggers the same verbal tone melodies, and it requires use of the epenthetic *hu-* under the same set of circumstances as other object prefixes). The reflexive prefix can be used with all persons and all classes. The reflexive is illustrated below:

- (17) a. *Ndihuváwona*                      *aváána.*  
           ndi-hu-va-won-a                  a-va-na  
           1SG-E-CL2.OBJ-see-FV        AUG.2-CL2-person  
           ‘I see the people.’
- b. *Ndihwíwona.*  
           ndi-hu-i-won-a  
           1SG-E-REFL-see-FV  
           ‘I see myself.’

With singular subjects, the meaning is always reflexive (as in (18b)). With plural subjects, however, the meaning can either be reflexive or reciprocal. Consider the following examples:

- (18) a. *Twíwona.*  
 tu-i-won-a  
 1PL-PRES-see-FV  
 ‘We see.’
- b. *Tuhwíwona.*  
 tu-hu-i-won-a  
 1PL-E-REFL-see -FV  
 ‘We see each other./We see ourselves.’
- c. *Twíwonána.*  
 tu-i-won-an-a  
 1PL-PRES-see-RECIP-FV  
 ‘We see each other.’

(18) shows the underived form of the verb *wona* ‘see’. In (b), two different interpretations are possible because the subject is plural. With the reflexive prefix, this can mean either “we see ourselves” (a reflexive meaning) or “we see each other” (reciprocal). Compare this with (c), which uses the reciprocal suffix *-án* and the only reading possible is the reciprocal one. (See 5.3.4 for a discussion of the reciprocal extension.)

#### 5.2.5 Tense-aspect-mood

The tense-aspect system in Bena is quite complex. Tense and aspect are marked using a set of tense-aspect prefixes, a limited set of suffixes, various inflecting and non-inflecting auxiliaries, and temporal adverbs. Major tense-aspect configurations are summarized in Table 5.5:



	<b>PERFECTIVE</b>	<b>PROGRESSIVE</b>	<b>HABITUAL</b>	<b>PERSISTIVE</b>	<b>ANTERIOR</b>
<b>PAST<sub>4</sub></b>	<i>ndaagonile</i>	<i>ndaagonága</i>	<i>ndaagoniige</i>	<i>ndaandé ndigona</i>	<i>ndaavé ndigónile</i>
<b>PAST<sub>3</sub></b>	<i>ndihaagonile</i>	<i>ndihaagoniige</i>		<i>ndaaté ndigóne ndaaté ndigónile</i>	<i>ndihaavé ndigónile</i>
<b>PAST<sub>2</sub></b>	<i>ndigónile</i>	<i>ndihígona</i>			<i>ndigónile</i>
<b>PAST<sub>1</sub></b>	<i>ve ndigónile</i>	<i>ndigóniige</i>			
<b>(PRESENT)</b>	<i>ndigona</i>	<i>ndili muhígona</i>	<i>nda ndigona</i>	<i>pele ndígona ndipígona</i>	
<b>FUTURE<sub>1</sub></b>	<i>adza ndígona hana ndigona</i>	<i>ndívedza ndígona</i>			<i>ndivédza ndigónile</i>
<b>FUTURE<sub>2</sub></b>	<i>ndidzígona</i>	<i>ndidzivedza ndígona</i>			<i>ndidziva ndigónile</i>
<b>FUTURE<sub>3</sub></b>	<i>ndilágona</i>	<i>ndilávedza ndígona</i>			<i>ndilávedza ndigónile</i>

Table 5.5. Tense-aspect configurations

Tense morphemes occur primarily before the verbal root (in TA<sub>1</sub>). Aspect morphemes occur both before and after the verbal root (in TA<sub>1</sub>, pre-FV, and FV). Tense-aspect morphemes and the slots which they occur in are summarized in the table below:

PRE-SM	SM	NEG	TA <sub>1</sub>	TA <sub>2</sub>	OM	ROOT	EXTENSION	PRE-FV	FV
<i>si-</i> NEG	subject markers	<i>si-</i> NEG	<i>aa-</i> P <sub>4</sub>	<i>dzi-</i> ITV	object markers	verbal root	verbal extensions	<i>-ág</i> IPFV	<i>-a</i>
subj. rel.		<i>tá-</i> NEG	<i>haa-</i> P <sub>3</sub>					<i>-ág</i> NARR	<i>-e</i>
			<i>hí-</i> P <sub>2</sub>						<i>-ile</i>
			<i>í-</i> PRES						
			<i>dzí-</i> F <sub>2</sub>						
			<i>lá-</i> F <sub>3</sub>						
			<i>pí-</i> PERS						
			<i>ha-</i> OPT						

Table 5.6. Tense-aspect morphemes and the slots in which they occur

#### 5.2.5.1 Tense

Here, I use Comrie's (1985:9) definition of tense as "grammaticalised location in time". Most of Bena's tenses are "absolute". In other words, they relate the event being described with respect to the present.<sup>4</sup> This is contrasted with relative tense, which relates the event to an already established time. With respect to absolute tenses, Bena distinguishes between four levels of past and three futures. In addition to this, there is a category which may be labeled "present" but may be better understood as a non-past

<sup>4</sup> This should not be understood to mean that there is no flexibility within the tense system. As I show below, there is some variability in where the divisions between tenses are.

marker. Finally, Bena has a single relative tense category, which places the event being described after a time already established (but the established time can be past, present, or future). Following Nurse (2008), I label tense categories with numbers, taking “present” as a starting point. Thus, for example, immediate future is  $F_1$ , near future is  $F_2$ , and remote future is  $F_3$ . Labeling of past tenses is similar, with  $P_1$  representing immediate past through  $P_4$ , remote past.

It is important to note here that tense represents speakers’ categorization of time, rather than actual temporal points. This means that, while I make certain generalizations about what certain tense categories represent, these categories are actually somewhat flexible. Thus, for example, there is some flexibility in the division between recent and remote past, but the relative ordering of the two tenses is always the same. (The notion of flexibility within the tense system is described in more detail in the next section.) The next several sections discuss the tense-aspect system in much greater detail. Because individual forms in the Bena verbal system are best understood as configurations of tense and aspect, the following sections only briefly discuss tense and the types of distinctions that the tense system makes. Individual tense-aspect forms are discussed in much greater detail in 5.2.5.3.

#### 5.2.5.1.1 Past tenses

Bena distinguishes between four different past tenses.  $Past_1$  is an immediate past tense. It refers to situations which have taken place in the last few minutes. It is often used when speakers want to emphasize that something has just been done or just been

completed. Past<sub>2</sub> is a hodiernal (today) past tense, referring to events that took place earlier in the same day. Past<sub>3</sub> usually refers to events that took place yesterday or the day before, but can also refer to events further back in the past (usually within the last few months or year). Past<sub>4</sub> is a remote past and refers to events that took place a long time ago. However, because these tenses refer to speakers' categorizations of time, they are quite fluid. Thus, for example, if a speaker is telling his/her life story, s/he may use Past<sub>3</sub> to refer to an event that took place several years ago in order to contrast it with an event that took place when the speaker was a child (remote Past<sub>4</sub>). In other words, there is some degree of scaling within the tense system—the divisions between each tense are not strictly absolute reference points.

#### 5.2.5.1.2 Future tenses

Categorization of the future is similar to that of the past, though the future only has three categories, rather than four. Future<sub>1</sub> is an immediate future, referring to events that will happen very soon (usually in the same day). Future<sub>2</sub> is a near future and is used for events that will happen within the next few days. Future<sub>3</sub> is a remote future and is used for events that will take place in several months or years. As with the past tenses, the futures are somewhat flexible—the exact divisions between future tenses are not always the same.

#### 5.2.5.1.3 Present tense

The present tense is somewhat more difficult to define. It does not always refer to the point in time in which the speaker is speaking; instead it represents some sort of central reference point. Nurse (2008:87) notes a similar difficulty in defining the present tense in other Bantu languages; he says that what is often referred to as the “present tense” is better seen as a “cognitive deictic center”. Thus, for example, when a speaker is telling a story of a childhood event, he or she may use the “present tense” to refer to events that happened in the past, but which serve as the “deictic center” of the story. In Bena, the present tense can refer not only to the “present”, but also to the time period immediately following it. Thus the present tense can also be used as an immediate future. For example, the word *ndígona* can be translated “I sleep/am sleeping right now” or as “I’ll sleep in a few minutes”.

#### 5.2.5.1.4 Narrative tense

While all of the other tenses are (more or less) absolute tenses, Bena uses a singular relative tense category, the narrative tense. This tense is often used when a speaker is telling a story, and can often be translated as either “at the same time” or “and then”. The narrative tense can be used in the past, present, or future, and its temporal status is understood relative to context. Usually a speaker establishes a temporal frame and then following verbs utilize the narrative tense and place the situation within the same temporal frame. Narrative tense is marked with the suffix *-ág*, though speakers are beginning to use the prefix *ha-* for the narrative tense. This is due to influence from

Swahili, which utilizes the morpheme *ka-* to mark the narrative tense. Example (19)

shows both narrative tense markers used in a single sentence:

- (19) *Umáma yúla ídiihe, ahahoongédza, viwuyága hukááya.*  
 u-mama yúla i-dih-ile a-ha-hongedz-a va-i-wuy-ag-a hu-kaaya  
 AUG- DIST.DEM.1 CL1-agree- CL1-NARR-thank- CL2-PRES-return- CL17-home  
 mother FV FV NARR-FV  
 ‘That mother agreed, (and then) she thanked (him), (and then) they returned home.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 037)

### 5.2.5.2 Aspect

Again, I use Comrie’s (1985) definition of aspect as “grammaticalised expression of internal temporal constituency.” In Bena, aspect is primarily coded using verbal suffixes, though there are also a few aspectual prefixes. In addition to this, aspect can be expressed with auxiliaries followed by a main verb. Bena distinguishes between a number of different aspects. Perfective aspect views an event as a whole. Here, I don’t restrict perfective aspect to include only past tense; thus it is possible to have past, present, and future perfective. There are several types of imperfectives in Bena. Progressive is used to represent an ongoing situation at a particular temporal reference point. Habitual represents events that happen repeatedly, with some degree of regularity. Persistent events began at some point in the past and occur continuously until the time of speaking. They are usually best translated as “still Xing”. Finally, anterior represents a situation that began in the past and continues until the present or has continued relevance in the present.

### 5.2.5.3 Tense-aspect combinations

In the two previous sections I have given a brief overview of the ways in which I refer to different types of tense and aspect. In Bena, verbal forms are best understood as tense-aspect combinations (it is not always easy to identify a particular morpheme as expressing tense, and a different morpheme expressing aspect). The following sections give a more detailed discussion of specific tense-aspect combinations in Bena. This includes an analysis of the formation of each combination (both in terms of the morphemes used and the tonal melody triggered by the combination) and specifics about the meaning and usage of each configuration. Forms are exemplified with templates using Class 1/2 nouns (in each person), though, of course, it is possible to use each of these forms with nouns from other classes as well.

### 5.2.5.4 Perfective forms

#### 5.2.5.4.1 Today/hodiernal (P<sub>2</sub>) past perfective: ...-ile

When contrasted with other past perfectives, the today past perfective refers to events that took place sometime today. This perfective also has a slightly expanded meaning—it can be used as a generic past perfective form, referring to any event that already happened. (It is also the form on which all other past perfectives are based.) The today past perfective is marked with the final vowel *-ile* (in combination with other morphemes, the final vowel *-ile* can also be used to mark other tenses/aspects). *-ile* triggers imbrication on forms containing derivational extensions, therefore it has a number of different allomorphs (see 2.4.7). The past perfective imposes tone on the first

mora of the verbal stem (with a few exceptions, which are described below). The past perfective is exemplified by the following paradigms:

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndigónile</i>	‘I slept’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndigééndile</i>	‘I walked’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ugónile</i>	‘you slept’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>ugééndile</i>	‘you walked’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>agónile</i>	‘s/he slept’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>agééndile</i>	‘s/he walked’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tugónile</i>	‘we slept’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tugééndile</i>	‘we walked’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mugónile</i>	‘you (PL) slept’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mugééndile</i>	‘you (PL) walked’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vagónile</i>	‘they slept’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vagééndile</i>	‘they walked’

Table 5.7. Today/hodiernal (P<sub>2</sub>) past perfective

In verbs containing derivational extensions, High tone follows on the antepenultimate mora (APU). Verbal forms containing an object bear High on the object.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndimemíídze</i>	‘I filled (something)’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndimútovile</i>	‘I hit him/her’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>umemíídze</i>	‘you filled (something)’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>umútovile</i>	‘you hit him/her’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>amemíídze</i>	‘s/he filled (something)’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>amútovile</i>	‘s/he hit him/her’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tumemíídze</i>	‘we filled (something)’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tumútovile</i>	‘we hit him/her’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mumemíídze</i>	‘you (PL) filled (something)’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mumútovile</i>	‘you (PL) hit him/her’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vamemíídze</i>	‘they filled (something)’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vamútovile</i>	‘they hit him/her’

Table 5.8 Today/hodiernal (P<sub>2</sub>) past perfective with causative extension (left) and object prefix (right)

Monosyllabic stems do not receive the final vowel *-ile*. Instead, they take the final vowel *-e*:



<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndífwē</i>	‘I died’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>túfwē</i>	‘we died’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>úfwē</i>	‘you died’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>múfwē</i>	‘you (PL) died’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>áfwe</i>	‘s/he died’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>váfwe</i>	‘they died’

Table 5.9 Today/hodiernal (P<sub>2</sub>) past perfective with monosyllabic stem5.2.5.4.2 Immediate (P<sub>1</sub>) past perfective: *ve ...-ile*

The immediate past perfective refers to something that just happened (within the last few minutes). It is formed by using the uninflected auxiliary *ve* followed by the past perfective form of the verb (described in the section above).

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ve ndigónile</i>	‘I just slept’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ve ndigééndile</i>	‘I just walked’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ve ugónile</i>	‘you just slept’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>ve ugééndile</i>	‘you just walked’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ve agónile</i>	‘s/he just slept’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>ve agééndile</i>	‘s/he just walked’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>ve tugónile</i>	‘we just slept’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>ve tugééndile</i>	‘we just walked’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>ve mugónile</i>	‘you (PL) just slept’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>ve mugééndile</i>	‘you (PL) just walked’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>ve vagónile</i>	‘they just slept’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>ve vagééndile</i>	‘they just walked’

Table 5.10 Immediate (P<sub>1</sub>) past perfective5.2.5.4.3 Recent (P<sub>3</sub>) past perfective: *...haa-...-ile*

The recent (P<sub>3</sub>) past perfective refers to events that took place a few days ago. It is formed in the same way as other past perfectives, with the addition of the P<sub>3</sub> morpheme *haa-* at TAM<sub>1</sub>. High tone occurs on the penultimate mora.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndihaagonile</i>	‘I slept (a few days ago)’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndihaageendile</i>	‘I walked (a few days ago)’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>uhaagonile</i>	‘you slept (a few days ago)’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>uhaageendile</i>	‘you walked (a few days ago)’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ahaagonile</i>	‘s/he slept (a few days ago)’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>ahaageendile</i>	‘s/he walked (a few days ago)’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tuhaagonile</i>	‘we slept (a few days ago)’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tuhaageendile</i>	‘we walked (a few days ago)’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>muhaagonile</i>	‘you (PL) slept (a few days ago)’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>muhaageendile</i>	‘you (PL) walked (a few days ago)’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vahaagonile</i>	‘they slept (a few days ago)’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vahaageendile</i>	‘they walked (a few days ago)’

Table 5.11 Recent (P<sub>3</sub>) past perfective5.2.5.4.4 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past perfective: ...aa-...-ile

The remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past perfective is used with events that occurred a long time ago.

It is formed in the same way as other perfective forms, but with the *aa-* P<sub>4</sub> morpheme in the slot TAM<sub>1</sub>. High tone occurs on the penultimate mora:

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaagonile</i>	‘I slept (a long time ago)’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaageendile</i>	‘I walked (a long time ago)’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>waagonile</i>	‘you slept (a long time ago)’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>waageendile</i>	‘you walked (a long time ago)’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>aagonile</i>	‘s/he slept (a long time ago)’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>aageendile</i>	‘s/he walked (a long time ago)’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaagonile</i>	‘we slept (a long time ago)’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaageendile</i>	‘we walked (a long time ago)’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaagonile</i>	‘you (PL) slept (a long time ago)’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaageendile</i>	‘you (PL) walked (a long time ago)’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaagonile</i>	‘they slept (a long time ago)’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaageendile</i>	‘they walked (a long time ago)’

Table 5.12 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past perfective

#### 5.2.5.4.5 Present perfective: ...*i*-...-*a*

The present perfective may be better labeled as a “simple non-past” form. It expresses an event that is taking place at the current time (or at the time serving as the temporal deictic center). It can also be used to describe an action that will take place very soon (in the next few minutes). Finally, it can have a progressive interpretation. Thus, for example, the form *ndígona* can be translated “I sleep”, “I am sleeping”, or “I will (soon) sleep”.

The present perfective is formed using the present tense prefix *i-* in slot TA<sub>1</sub> and the final vowel *-a*. In the present perfective, High tone occurs on the antepenultimate mora. The present perfective is exemplified in the paradigms below:

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndígona</i>	‘I sleep’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndigéénda</i>	‘I walk’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>wígona</i>	‘you sleep’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>wigéénda</i>	‘you walk’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ígona</i>	‘s/he sleeps’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>igéénda</i>	‘s/he walks’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tígona</i>	‘we sleep’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tigéénda</i>	‘we walk’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwígona</i>	‘you (PL) sleep’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwigéénda</i>	‘you (PL) walk’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vígona</i>	‘they sleep’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vigéénda</i>	‘they walk’

Table 5.13 Present perfective

The prefix *hu-* is inserted immediately preceding vowel-initial verbal stems. In forms containing an object marker, High tone shifts to the object marker:

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndihwheelúha</i>	'I climb'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndimútova</i>	'I hit him/her'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>wihwheelúha</i>	'you climb'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>wimútova</i>	'you hit him/her'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ihwheelúha</i>	's/he climbs'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>imútova</i>	's/he hits him/her'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tihwheelúha</i>	'we climb'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>timútova</i>	'we hit him/her'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwihwheelúha</i>	'you (PL) climb'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwimútova</i>	'you (PL) hit him/her'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vihwheelúha</i>	'they climb'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vimútova</i>	'they hit him/her'

Table 5.14 Present perfective with vowel-initial verb (left ) and object prefix (right)

5.2.5.4.6 Immediate (F<sub>1</sub>) future perfective: *adza ...i-...-a*

The immediate future perfective refers to events that will take place soon (sometime today). Its formation is identical to the present perfective, with the addition of the uninflected auxiliary *adza*. (*Adza* is likely a grammaticalized form of the verbal stem *-adza* meaning 'come'.)

<b>1SG</b>	<i>adza ndígona</i>	'I will sleep soon'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>adza ndigéénda</i>	'I will walk soon'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>adza wígona</i>	'you will sleep soon'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>adza wigéénda</i>	'you will walk soon'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>adza ígona</i>	's/he will sleep soon'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>adza igéénda</i>	's/he will walk soon'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>adza tígona</i>	'we will sleep soon'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>adza tigéénda</i>	'we will walk soon'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>adza mwígona</i>	'you (PL) will sleep soon'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>adza mwigéénda</i>	'you (PL) will walk soon'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>adza vígona</i>	'they will sleep soon'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>adza vigéénda</i>	'they will walk soon'

Table 5.15 Immediate (F<sub>1</sub>) future perfective

#### 5.2.5.4.7 Near (F<sub>2</sub>) future perfective: ...*dzi*-...-*a*

The near future perfective refers to events that will take place in a day or two. It is formed with the F<sub>2</sub> prefix *dzi*-<sup>5</sup> in TA<sub>1</sub> and the final vowel -*a*. (Like the auxiliary *adza* it is possible that the future marker *dzi*- is derived historically from the verbal stem -*adza* ‘to come’). The near future perfective uses the APU tone melody (High tone occurs on the antepenultimate mora of the verb).

1SG	<i>ndidzígona</i>	‘I will sleep’	1SG	<i>ndidzigéénda</i>	‘I will walk’
2SG	<i>udzígona</i>	‘you will sleep’	2SG	<i>udzigéénda</i>	‘you will walk’
3SG	<i>adzígona</i>	‘s/he will sleep’	3SG	<i>adzigéénda</i>	‘s/he will walk’
1PL	<i>tudzígona</i>	‘we will sleep’	1PL	<i>tudzigéénda</i>	‘we will walk’
2PL	<i>mudzígona</i>	‘you (PL) will sleep’	2PL	<i>mudzigéénda</i>	‘you (PL) will walk’
3PL	<i>vadzígona</i>	‘they will sleep’	3PL	<i>vadzigéénda</i>	‘they will walk’

Table 5.16 Near (F<sub>2</sub>) future perfective

As with the present perfective, the prefix *hu*- is inserted before vowel-initial verbal stems and verbs that have object markers receive their High tone on the object marker.

#### 5.2.5.4.8 Remote (F<sub>3</sub>) future perfective: ...*lá* ...-*a*

The remote future perfective refers to events that will take place somewhere far in the future (usually in a few months or years). It is formed with the F<sub>3</sub> prefix *lá*- in TA<sub>1</sub> and the final vowel -*a*. The tonal melody of the remote future perfective is pre-stem-initial—High tone occurs on the mora immediately preceding the verbal stem.

<sup>5</sup> Two alternative pronunciations of this morpheme exist: *dza*- and *adzi*-. It is unclear what (if anything) conditions the variation. I have heard the same speaker use all three forms.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndilágoná</i>	‘I will sleep’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndilágeenda</i>	‘I will walk’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ulágoná</i>	‘you will sleep’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>ulágeenda</i>	‘you will walk’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>alágoná</i>	‘s/he will sleep’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>alágeenda</i>	‘s/he will walk’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tulágoná</i>	‘we will sleep’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tulágeenda</i>	‘we will walk’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mulágoná</i>	‘you (PL) will sleep’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mulágeenda</i>	‘you (PL) will walk’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>valágoná</i>	‘they will sleep’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>valágeenda</i>	‘they will walk’

Table 5.17 Remote( $F_3$ ) future perfective

Unlike other forms of the future perfective, vowel-initial verbal stems are not preceded by *hu-*. Instead, the  $F_3$  prefix *lá-* occurs immediately before the stem and triggers vowel coalescence with the following vowels.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndilééluha</i>	‘I will climb’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndilóógopa</i>	‘I will be afraid’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ulééluha</i>	‘you will climb’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>ulóógopa</i>	‘you will be afraid’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>alééluha</i>	‘s/he will climb’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>alóógopa</i>	‘s/he will be afraid’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tulééluha</i>	‘we will climb’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tulóógopa</i>	‘we will be afraid’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mulééluha</i>	‘you (PL) will climb’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mulóógopa</i>	‘you (PL) will be afraid’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>valééluha</i>	‘they will climb’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>valóógopa</i>	‘they will be afraid’

Table 5.18 Remote( $F_3$ ) future perfective with vowel-initial verb stems

### 5.2.5.5 Progressive forms

#### 5.2.5.5.1 Present progressive: ...COP *mu* INF

The present progressive is used to indicate an action that is ongoing at the time of speaking. While the present perfective can also have a progressive interpretation, speakers usually use the present progressive if they want to emphasize the ongoing nature of the action. The present progressive is formed by using the inflected copula *li* as an auxiliary. The second verb takes the form of an infinitive prefixed with the Class 18

(locative “inside”) marker *mu-*. The copula is toneless; High tone occurs in the same place it would with any normal infinitive (i.e., on the antepenultimate mora).

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndili muhúgona</i>	‘I am sleeping’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndili muhugéénda</i>	‘I am walking’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>uli muhúgona</i>	‘you are sleeping’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>uli muhugéénda</i>	‘you are walking’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ali muhúgona</i>	‘s/he is sleeping’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>ali muhugéénda</i>	‘s/he is walking’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tuli muhúgona</i>	‘we are sleeping’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tuli muhugéénda</i>	‘we are walking’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>muli muhúgona</i>	‘you (PL) are sleeping’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>muli muhugéénda</i>	‘you (PL) are walking’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vali muhúgona</i>	‘they are sleeping’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vali muhugéénda</i>	‘they are walking’

Table 5.19 Present progressive

#### 5.2.5.5.2 Immediate ( $P_1$ ) past progressive: ...-ííge

The immediate past progressive refers to an event that was ongoing at the time of reference, which is sometime earlier in the day (i.e., “This morning I was walking when...”). It is formed by adding the imperfective suffix *-ág* in the pre-FV slot and the final vowel *-ile* in the FV slot. Imbrication then applies, resulting in the ending *-ííge*. High tone occurs on the first mora of the stem.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndigóniige</i>	‘I was sleeping’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndigéndiige</i>	‘I was walking’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ugóniige</i>	‘you were sleeping’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>ugéndiige</i>	‘you were walking’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>agóniige</i>	‘s/he was sleeping’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>agéndiige</i>	‘s/he was walking’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tugóniige</i>	‘we were sleeping’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tugéndiige</i>	‘we were walking’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mugóniige</i>	‘you (PL) were sleeping’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mugéndiige</i>	‘you (PL) were walking’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vagóniige</i>	‘they were sleeping’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vagéndiige</i>	‘they were walking’

Table 5.20 Immediate ( $P_1$ ) past progressive

Monosyllabic stems are suffixed with an epenthetic *-iidz* immediately following the verbal stem. This is necessary so that they can bear tone.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndifwíidziige</i>	‘I was dying’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ufwíidziige</i>	‘you were dying’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>afwíidziige</i>	‘s/he was dying’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tufwíidziige</i>	‘we were dying’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mufwíidziige</i>	‘you (PL) were dying’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vafwíidziige</i>	‘they were dying’

**Table 5.21 Immediate (P<sub>1</sub>) past progressive with vowel initial stem**

#### 5.2.5.5.3 Today/hodiernal (P<sub>2</sub>) past progressive: ...*hi*-...-*a*

The today/hodiernal P<sub>2</sub> past progressive is the only past progressive form that does not contain the imperfective suffix *-ága*. It was at first suspected that this form is not in fact a progressive; however it was consistently translated by consultants as “was Xing this morning”. However, it is unclear at this point what exactly the difference is between this form and the P<sub>1</sub> past progressive described above. The P<sub>2</sub> past progressive is formed with the prefix *hi*-<sup>6</sup> in the TA<sub>1</sub> slot and the final vowel *-a*. The P<sub>2</sub> past progressive has the APU tonal melody.

<sup>6</sup> or *ahi*-; consultants indicate the two forms are identical.



1SG	<i>ndihígona</i>	‘I was sleeping’	1SG	<i>ndihigéénda</i>	‘I was walking’
2SG	<i>uhígona</i>	‘you were sleeping’	2SG	<i>uhigéénda</i>	‘you were walking’
3SG	<i>ahígona</i>	‘s/he was sleeping’	3SG	<i>ahigéénda</i>	‘s/he was walking’
1PL	<i>tuhígona</i>	‘we were sleeping’	1PL	<i>tuhigéénda</i>	‘we were walking’
2PL	<i>muhígona</i>	‘you (PL) were sleeping’	2PL	<i>muhigéénda</i>	‘you (PL) were walking’
3PL	<i>vahígona</i>	‘they were sleeping’	3PL	<i>vahigéénda</i>	‘they were walking’

Table 5.22 Today/hodiernal (P<sub>2</sub>) past progressive5.2.5.5.4 Recent (P<sub>3</sub>) past progressive: ...haa-...-ííge

The recent past progressive refers to an event that was ongoing at the time of reference, which is sometime recently (within the past few days). Like the immediate P<sub>1</sub> progressive, it is formed by adding the imperfective suffix *-ág* in the pre-FV slot and the final vowel *-ile* in the fv slot. Imbrication then applies, resulting in the ending *-ííge*. The recent past progressive also uses the P<sub>3</sub> suffix *haa-* in slot TA<sub>1</sub>. High tone occurs on the antepenultimate mora in all forms.

1SG	<i>ndihaagonííge</i>	‘I was sleeping (recently)’	1SG	<i>ndihaagendiíge</i>	‘I was walking (recently)’
2SG	<i>uhaagonííge</i>	‘you were sleeping (recently)’	2SG	<i>uhaagendiíge</i>	‘you were walking (recently)’
3SG	<i>ahaagonííge</i>	‘s/he was sleeping (recently)’	3SG	<i>ahaagendiíge</i>	‘s/he was walking (recently)’
1PL	<i>tuhaagonííge</i>	‘we were sleeping (recently)’	1PL	<i>tuhaagendiíge</i>	‘we were walking (recently)’
2PL	<i>muhaagonííge</i>	‘you (PL) were sleeping (recently)’	2PL	<i>muhaagendiíge</i>	‘you (PL) were walking (recently)’
3PL	<i>vahaagonííge</i>	‘they were sleeping (recently)’	3PL	<i>vahaagendiíge</i>	‘they were walking (recently)’

Table 5.23 Recent (P<sub>3</sub>) past progressive

As with the immediate P<sub>1</sub> progressive, monosyllabic stems are suffixed with an epenthetic *-iidz* immediately following the verbal stem.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndihafwiidziíge</i>	'I was dying (recently)'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>uhafwiidziíge</i>	'you were dying (recently)'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ahafwiidziíge</i>	's/he was dying (recently)'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tuhafwiidziíge</i>	'we were dying (recently)'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>muhafwiidziíge</i>	'you (PL) were dying (recently)'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vahafwiidziíge</i>	'they were dying (recently)'

Table 5.24 Recent (P<sub>3</sub>) past progressive with monosyllabic stem5.2.5.5.5 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past progressive: ...*aa*-...-*ága*

The remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past progressive refers to an event ongoing at the time of reference, which is some time in the remote past (usually a year or more ago). It is formed with the P<sub>4</sub> morpheme *aa-* in the TA<sub>1</sub> slot, the imperfective suffix *-ága* in the pre-FV slot, and the final vowel *-a*. High tone always occurs on the penultimate mora.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaagonága</i>	'I was sleeping (long ago)'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaageendága</i>	'I was walking (long ago)'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>waagonága</i>	'you were sleeping (long ago)'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>waageendága</i>	'you were walking (long ago)'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>aagonága</i>	's/he was sleeping (long ago)'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>aageendága</i>	's/he was walking (long ago)'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaagonága</i>	'we were sleeping (long ago)'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaageendága</i>	'we were walking (long ago)'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaagonága</i>	'you (PL) were sleeping (long ago)'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaageendága</i>	'you (PL) were walking (long ago)'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaagonága</i>	'they were sleeping (long ago)'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaageendága</i>	'they were walking (long ago)'

Table 5.25 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past progressive

#### 5.2.5.5.6 Immediate (F<sub>1</sub>) future progressive: ...*vedza* ...*i*-...-*a*

The immediate future progressive describes an event that will be ongoing in the near future. It is formed with the auxiliary *vedza* ‘be’ inflected like the present perfective (with *i*- in TA<sub>1</sub> and the final vowel *-a*). The second verb takes the form of the present perfective.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndívedza</i>	‘I will be sleeping	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndívedza</i>	‘I will be walking (very
	<i>ndígona</i>	(very soon)’		<i>ndigéénda</i>	soon)’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>wívedza</i>	‘you will be sleeping	<b>2SG</b>	<i>wívedza</i>	‘you will be walking
	<i>wígona</i>	(very soon)’		<i>wigéénda</i>	(very soon)’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ívedza</i>	‘s/he will be sleeping	<b>3SG</b>	<i>ívedza</i>	‘s/he will be walking
	<i>ígona</i>	(very soon)’		<i>igéénda</i>	(very soon)’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tívedza</i>	‘we will be sleeping	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tívedza</i>	‘we will be walking
	<i>tígona</i>	(very soon)’		<i>tigéénda</i>	(very soon)’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwívedza</i>	‘you (PL) will be	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwívedza</i>	‘you (PL) will be
	<i>mwígona</i>	sleeping (very soon)’		<i>mwigéénda</i>	walking (very soon)’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vívedza</i>	‘they will be sleeping	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vívedza</i>	‘they will be walking
	<i>vígona</i>	(very soon)’		<i>vigéénda</i>	(very soon)’

Table 5.26 Immediate (F<sub>1</sub>) future progressive

#### 5.2.5.5.7 Near (F<sub>2</sub>) future progressive: ...*dzívedza* ...*i*-...-*a*

The near future progressive describes an event that will be ongoing soon (in the next few days or weeks). It is formed with the auxiliary *vedza* ‘be’ inflected like the near future perfective (with *dzi*- in TA<sub>1</sub> and the final vowel *-a*). The second verb takes the form of the present perfective.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndidzivedza</i>	'I will be sleeping (soon)'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndidzivedza</i>	'I will be walking (soon)'
	<i>ndígona</i>			<i>ndigéénda</i>	
<b>2SG</b>	<i>udzivedza</i>	'you will be sleeping (soon)'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>udzivedza</i>	'you will be walking (soon)'
	<i>wígona</i>			<i>wigéénda</i>	
<b>3SG</b>	<i>adzivedza</i>	's/he will be sleeping (soon)'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>adzivedza</i>	's/he will be walking (soon)'
	<i>ígona</i>			<i>igéénda</i>	
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tudzivedza</i>	'we will be sleeping (soon)'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tudzivedza</i>	'we will be walking (soon)'
	<i>tígona</i>			<i>tigéénda</i>	
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mudzivedza</i>	'you (PL) will be sleeping (soon)'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mudzivedza</i>	'you (PL) will be walking (soon)'
	<i>mwígona</i>			<i>mwigéénda</i>	
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vadzivedza</i>	'they will be sleeping (soon)'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vadzivedza</i>	'they will be walking (soon)'
	<i>vígona</i>			<i>vigéénda</i>	

Table 5.27 Near (F<sub>2</sub>) future progressive5.2.5.5.8 Remote (F<sub>3</sub>) future progressive: ...*lavedza* ...*i*...-*a*

The remote future progressive describes an event that will be ongoing sometime in the far future. It is formed with the auxiliary *vedza* 'be' inflected like the remote future perfective (with *lá-* in TA<sub>1</sub> and the final vowel *-a*). The second verb takes the form of the present perfective.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndilávedza</i>	'I will be sleeping (in a long time)'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndilávedza</i>	'I will be walking (in a long time)'
	<i>ndígona</i>			<i>ndigéénda</i>	
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ulávedza</i>	'you will be sleeping (in a long time)'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>ulávedza</i>	'you will be walking (in a long time)'
	<i>wígona</i>			<i>wigéénda</i>	
<b>3SG</b>	<i>alávedza</i>	's/he will be sleeping (in a long time)'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>alávedza</i>	's/he will be walking (in a long time)'
	<i>ígona</i>			<i>igéénda</i>	
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tulávedza</i>	'we will be sleeping (in a long time)'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tulávedza</i>	'we will be walking (in a long time)'
	<i>tígona</i>			<i>tigéénda</i>	
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mulávedza</i>	'you (PL) will be sleeping (in a long time)'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mulávedza</i>	'you (PL) will be walking (in a long time)'
	<i>mwígona</i>			<i>mwigéénda</i>	
<b>3PL</b>	<i>valávedza</i>	'they will be sleeping (in a long time)'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>valávedza</i>	'they will be walking (in a long time)'
	<i>vígona</i>			<i>vigéénda</i>	

Table 5.28 Remote (F<sub>3</sub>) future progressive

### 5.2.5.6 Habitual forms

#### 5.2.5.6.1 Present habitual: ...*a* ...*i*-...-*a*

The present habitual refers to an event that is done regularly. It is formed by inflecting the auxiliary *a* for subject; then following this with a verb in the form of the present perfective. The auxiliary is toneless; tone on the second verb occurs in the same place as the present perfective.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>nda ndígona</i>	‘I always sleep’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>nda ndigéénda</i>	‘I always walk’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>wa wígona</i>	‘you always sleep’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>wa wigéénda</i>	‘you always walk’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>a ígona</i>	‘s/he always sleeps’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>a igéénda</i>	‘s/he always walks’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twa twígona</i>	‘we always sleep’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twa twigéénda</i>	‘we always walk’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwa mwígona</i>	‘you (PL) always sleep’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwa mwigéénda</i>	‘you (PL) always walk’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>va vígona</i>	‘they always sleep’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>va vigéénda</i>	‘they always walk’

Table 5.29 Present habitual

#### 5.2.5.6.2 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past habitual: ...*aa*-...-*ííge*

The remote past habitual refers to an event that was done regularly over a long period of time in the past, but is no longer being done. It is best translated as “used to X”. Like some forms of the past progressive, it is formed by adding the imperfective suffix *-ág* in the pre-fv slot and the final vowel *-ile* in the fv slot. Imbrication (see 2.4.7) then applies, resulting in the ending *-ííge*. The recent past progressive also uses the P<sub>4</sub> suffix *aa-* in slot TA<sub>1</sub>. High tone always on the antepenultimate mora in all forms.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaagonííge</i>	‘I used to sleep’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaagonííge</i>	‘I used to walk’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>waagonííge</i>	‘you used to sleep’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>waagonííge</i>	‘you used to walk’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>aagonííge</i>	‘s/he used to sleep’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>aagonííge</i>	‘s/he used to walk’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaagonííge</i>	‘we used to sleep’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaagonííge</i>	‘we used to walk’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaagonííge</i>	‘you (PL) used to sleep’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaagonííge</i>	‘you (PL) used to walk’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaagonííge</i>	‘they used to sleep’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaagonííge</i>	‘they used to walk’

Table 5.30 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past habitual

Monosyllabic stems are suffixed with an epenthetic *-iidz* immediately following the verbal stem.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaagwiidziíge</i>	‘I used to fall’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>waagwiidziíge</i>	‘you used to fall’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>aagwiidziíge</i>	‘s/he used to fall’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaagwiidziíge</i>	‘we used to fall’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaagwiidziíge</i>	‘you (PL) used to fall’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaagwiidziíge</i>	‘they used to fall’

Table 5.31 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past habitual with monosyllabic stem

### 5.2.5.7 Persistentive forms

#### 5.2.5.7.1 Present persistentive: *pele ...i-...-a*; *...pi-...-a*

There are two forms of the present persistentive. They are identical in meaning, and both can be translated as “be still Xing”. They are used for an event that began sometime in the past and has been happening continuously up until the time of speech. The first form of the present persistentive uses the adverb *pele* ‘still’ followed by the present perfective. *Pele* is toneless; tone occurs on the second verb as it normally does in the present perfective.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>pele ndígona</i>	'I'm still sleeping'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>pele ndigéénda</i>	'I'm still walking'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>pele wígona</i>	'you're still sleeping'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>pele wigéénda</i>	'you're still sleeping'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>pele ígona</i>	's/he is still sleeping'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>pele igéénda</i>	's/he is still sleeping'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>pele twígona</i>	'we're still sleeping'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>pele twigéénda</i>	'we're still sleeping'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>pele mwígona</i>	'you (PL) are still sleeping'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>pele mwigéénda</i>	'you (PL) are still sleeping'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>pele vígona</i>	'they're still sleeping'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>pele vigéénda</i>	'they're still sleeping'

Table 5.32 Present persistive with adverb *pele* 'still'

The second form of the present persistive is formed using the persistive prefix *pi-* in slot TA<sub>1</sub> and the final vowel *-a*. The present perfective has High tone on the antepenultimate mora.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndipígona</i>	'I'm still sleeping'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndipigéénda</i>	'I'm still walking'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>wipígona</i>	'you're still sleeping'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>wipigéénda</i>	'you're still sleeping'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ipígona</i>	's/he is still sleeping'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>ipigéénda</i>	's/he is still sleeping'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twipígona</i>	'we're still sleeping'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twipigéénda</i>	'we're still sleeping'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwipígona</i>	'you (PL) are still sleeping'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwipigéénda</i>	'you (PL) are still sleeping'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vipígona</i>	'they're still sleeping'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vipigéénda</i>	'they're still sleeping'

Table 5.33 Present persistive with prefix *pi-*

#### 5.2.5.7.2 Near (P<sub>3</sub>) past persistive: ...*aaté* ...-*e*; ...*aaté* ...-*ile*

The near past persistive is used for an event that started somewhere in the past and was ongoing up until the time of temporal reference, which is in the near past. It is formed with the auxiliary *aaté* inflected for subject. This is followed by either the subjunctive form of the verb (see 5.2.5.11.2) or the past<sub>2</sub> perfective. The difference

between the two forms is unclear. Forms of the near past persistive using the past<sub>2</sub> perfective are exemplified below.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaaté ndigónile</i>	'I was still sleeping'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaaté ndigééndile</i>	'I was still walking'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>waaté ugónile</i>	'you were still sleeping'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>waaté ugééndile</i>	'you were still walking'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>aaté agónile</i>	's/he was still sleeping'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>aaté agééndile</i>	's/he was still walking'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaaté tugónile</i>	'we were still sleeping'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaaté tugééndile</i>	'we were still walking'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaaté mugónile</i>	'you (PL) were still sleeping'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaaté mugééndile</i>	'you (PL) were still walking'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaaté vagónile</i>	'they were still sleeping'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaaté vagééndile</i>	'they were still walking'

Table 5.34 Near (P<sub>3</sub>) past perfective

#### 5.2.5.7.3 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past persistive: ...*aandé* ...*i*-...-*a*

The remote past persistive is similar in meaning to the near past persistive, but is used for events that have a temporal reference point in the remote past. It is formed with the auxiliary *aandé* inflected for subject. This is followed by the present perfective form of the verb.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaandé ndígona</i>	'I was still sleeping'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaandé ndígona</i>	'I was still walking'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>waandé wígona</i>	'you were still sleeping'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>waandé wígona</i>	'you were still walking'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>aandé ígona</i>	's/he was still sleeping'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>aandé ígona</i>	's/he was still walking'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaandé twígona</i>	'we were still sleeping'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaandé twígona</i>	'we were still walking'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaandé mwígona</i>	'you (PL) were still sleeping'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaandé nwígona</i>	'you (PL) were still walking'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaandé vígona</i>	'they were still sleeping'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaandé vígona</i>	'they were still walking'

Table 5.35 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past persistive



### 5.2.5.8 Anterior forms

#### 5.2.5.8.1 Today/hodiernal ( $P_2$ ) past anterior: ...-ile

The today/hodiernal past anterior refers to an event that happened earlier today, but has continuing relevance in the present (“I have Xed today”). The form is identical to the past perfective, but it is included separately here because this form can either have a perfective or an anterior meaning. Further, both past perfective forms and anterior forms utilize the final vowel *-ile*. Refer to 5.2.5.4.1 above for formation.

#### 5.2.5.8.2 Recent ( $P_3$ ) past anterior: ...*haavé* ...-ile

The recent past anterior form describes an event that happened in the past and had continuing relevance at the time of temporal reference (the recent past). It is formed by inflecting the auxiliary *va* for subject and the  $P_3$  marker *haa-*; this is followed by the past anterior. On the auxiliary, High tone occurs on the final mora.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndihaavé ndigónile</i>	‘I had slept’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndihaavé ndigééndile</i>	‘I had walked’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>uhaavé ugónile</i>	‘you had slept’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>uhaavé ugééndile</i>	‘you had walked’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ahaavé agónile</i>	‘s/he had slept’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>ahaavé agééndile</i>	‘s/he had walked’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tuhaavé tugónile</i>	‘we had slept’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tuhaavé tugééndile</i>	‘we had walked’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>muhaavé mugónile</i>	‘you (PL) had slept’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>muhaavé mugééndile</i>	‘you (PL) had walked’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vahaavé vagónile</i>	‘they had slept’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vahaavé vagééndile</i>	‘they had walked’

Table 5.36 Recent ( $P_3$ ) past anterior

### 5.2.5.8.3 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past anterior: ...*aavé* ...-*ile*

The remote past anterior is similar in meaning and form to the recent past anterior. It refers to an event that happened in the past and had continuing relevance at the time of temporal reference (remote past). It is formed by inflecting the auxiliary *va* for subject and the P<sub>4</sub> marker *aa-* and the final vowel *-e*; this is followed by the past anterior. On the auxiliary, High tone occurs on the final mora.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaavé ndigónile</i>	'I had slept'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndaavé ndigééndile</i>	'I had walked'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>waavé ugónile</i>	'you had slept'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>waavé ugééndile</i>	'you had walked'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>aavé agónile</i>	's/he had slept'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>aavé agééndile</i>	's/he had walked'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaavé tugónile</i>	'we had slept'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twaavé tugééndile</i>	'we had walked'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaavé mugónile</i>	'you (PL) had slept'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwaavé mugééndile</i>	'you (PL) had walked'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaavé vagónile</i>	'they had slept'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vaavé vagééndile</i>	'they had walked'

Table 5.37 Remote (P<sub>4</sub>) past anterior

### 5.2.5.8.4 Immediate (F<sub>1</sub>) future anterior: ...*vedza* ...-*ile*

The immediate future anterior refers to an event that will be completed at some point in the future and has relevance at the point of reference (which is in the immediate future). It is formed by the present tense form of the auxiliary *vedza* 'be' followed by the anterior.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndívedza ndigónile</i>	'I will have slept'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndívedza ndigééndile</i>	'I will have walked'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>wívedza ugónile</i>	'you will have slept'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>wívedza ugééndile</i>	'you will have walked'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>ívedza agónile</i>	's/he will have slept'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>ívedza agééndile</i>	's/he will have walked'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tívedza tugónile</i>	'we will have slept'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>twívedza tugééndile</i>	'we will have walked'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwívedza mugónile</i>	'you (PL) will have slept'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mwívedza mugééndile</i>	'you (PL) will have walked'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vívedza vagónile</i>	'they will have slept'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vívedza vagééndile</i>	'they will have walked'

Table 5.38 Immediate (F<sub>1</sub>) future anterior5.2.5.8.5 Near (F<sub>2</sub>) future anterior: ...dzívedza ...-ile

The near future anterior is like the immediate future anterior, but with a point of reference in the near future (next few days). It is formed with the near future form of the auxiliary *vedza* followed by the anterior.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndidzívedza ndigónile</i>	'I will have slept'	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndidzívedza ndigééndile</i>	'I will have walked'
<b>2SG</b>	<i>udzívedza ugónile</i>	'you will have slept'	<b>2SG</b>	<i>udzívedza ugééndile</i>	'you will have walked'
<b>3SG</b>	<i>adzívedza agónile</i>	's/he will have slept'	<b>3SG</b>	<i>adzívedza agééndile</i>	's/he will have walked'
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tudzívedza tugónile</i>	'we will have slept'	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tudzívedza tugééndile</i>	'we will have walked'
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mudzívedza mugónile</i>	'you (PL) will have slept'	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mudzívedza mugééndile</i>	'you (PL) will have walked'
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vadzívedza vagónile</i>	'they will have slept'	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vadzívedza vagééndile</i>	'they will have walked'

Table 5.39 Near (F<sub>2</sub>) future anterior

### 5.2.5.8.6 Remote (F<sub>3</sub>) future anterior: ...*lávédza* ...-ile

The remote future anterior is similar to both the immediate and near future anteriors, but its point of reference is in the remote future. It is formed with the remote future form of the auxiliary *vedza* followed by the anterior.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndilávédza</i> <i>ndigónile</i>	‘I will have slept’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndilávédza</i> <i>ndigééndile</i>	‘I will have walked’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ulávédza</i> <i>ugónile</i>	‘you will have slept’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>ulávédza</i> <i>ugééndile</i>	‘you will have walked’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>alávédza</i> <i>agónile</i>	‘s/he will have slept’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>alávédza</i> <i>agééndile</i>	‘s/he will have walked’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tulávédza</i> <i>tugónile</i>	‘we will have slept’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tulávédza</i> <i>tugééndile</i>	‘we will have walked’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mulávédza</i> <i>mugónile</i>	‘you (PL) will have slept’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mulávédza</i> <i>mugééndile</i>	‘you (PL) will have walked’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>valávédza</i> <i>vagónile</i>	‘they will have slept’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>valávédza</i> <i>vagééndile</i>	‘they will have walked’

Table 5.40 Remote (F<sub>3</sub>) future anterior

### 5.2.5.9 Narrative forms: ...-ága, -áge

There are two narrative tense forms. As discussed above in 5.2.5.1.4, the narrative tense is used once a temporal frame has been established and indicates that an event is taking place within the same temporal frame. It is often best translated as “and then X”. There are two narrative forms in Bena. Both use the suffix *-ag* in the pre-fv slot. One has the final vowel *-a*; the other uses *-e*. Speakers were unable to provide any distinctions between the two forms, and it is unclear at this point what the difference between the two forms is (if a difference exists). High tone always occurs on the penultimate syllable, unless a form has an object, in which case the tone shifts to the object.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndigonága/e</i>	‘then I slept’	<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndigeendága/e</i>	‘then I walked’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ugonága/e</i>	‘then you slept’	<b>2SG</b>	<i>ugeendága/e</i>	‘then you walked’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>agonága/e</i>	‘then s/he slept’	<b>3SG</b>	<i>ageendága/e</i>	‘then s/he walked’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tugonága/e</i>	‘then we slept’	<b>1PL</b>	<i>tugeendága/e</i>	‘then we walked’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mugonága/e</i>	‘then you (PL) slept’	<b>2PL</b>	<i>mugeendága/e</i>	‘then you (PL) walked’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vagonága/e</i>	‘then they slept’	<b>3PL</b>	<i>vageendága/e</i>	‘then they walked’

Table 5.41 Narrative tense

Monosyllabic stems are suffixed with an epenthetic *-iidz* immediately following the verbal stem.

<b>1SG</b>	<i>ndifwiidzága/e</i>	‘then I died’
<b>2SG</b>	<i>ufwiidzága/e</i>	‘then you died’
<b>3SG</b>	<i>afwiidzága/e</i>	‘then s/he died’
<b>1PL</b>	<i>tufwiidzága/e</i>	‘then we died’
<b>2PL</b>	<i>mufwiidzága/e</i>	‘then you (PL) died’
<b>3PL</b>	<i>vafwiidzága/e</i>	‘then they died’

Table 5.42 Narrative forms with monosyllabic verb

#### 5.2.5.10 Itive

The itive inflectional category carries the meaning “go” (Nurse 2008). With the itive, the meaning “go” is quite literal—implies that a participant actually went to another physical location to do a particular action. The itive morpheme is *dzi-* and is the only morpheme which can occur in TAM<sub>2</sub>. Its use is restricted to verbs in the past, present, and narrative tenses, but cannot be used with future tense verbs. Consider the following example of the itive:

- (20) *ndihaadzigonile*  
 ndi-haa-dzi-gon-ile  
 1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-ITV-sleep-FV  
 ‘I went (and) slept’

In (20), consultants indicated that a speaker could not say this if s/he had slept in his/her own home. Instead, use of the *dzi-* requires that the speaker went somewhere else to sleep.<sup>7</sup> The *dzi-* iterative should not be confused with the *dzi-* future tense marker. The *dzi-* future tense marker is high-toned, it occurs in TAM<sub>1</sub> (rather than TAM<sub>2</sub>), and carries no implications of physical movement to do a particular action.

Several more examples taken from the corpus illustrating use of the *dzi-* itive are given below:

- (21) *Ndaahelé huMalangali ndaadzihugawééne amalimo*  
 ndi-aa-hel-e hu-Malangali ndi-aa-dzi-hu-ga-won-ile a-ma-limo  
 1SG-P<sub>4</sub>-go-FV CL17-Malangali 1SG-P<sub>4</sub>-ITV-E-CL6.OBJ-see-FV AUG-CL6-work

*hwa Mwalimu Thomas.*  
 hwa mwalimu Thomas  
 ASSOC .17 teacher Thomas

‘I went to Malangali and (went and) saw (acquired) work at Teacher Thomas’.

(08Oct02a, LN’s Life Story: line 016)

- (22) *Umuséhe adzihuvaloongéla hula...*  
 u-mu-sehe a-dzi-hu-va-long-el-a hu-la  
 AUG-CL1-elder CL1-ITV-E-CL2.OBJ-say-APPL-FV CL17-DIST.DEM  
 ‘The elder (goes and) tells them over there.’

(08Oct16f, Taboos: line 023)

<sup>7</sup> All examples in the corpus have a “go and do” connotation (where the going happens first, followed by the action described by the verb). It is also possible that the itive could have the interpretation “do while going”—this interpretation of the itive has not been explored in Bena.

- (23) *Adzifihamága*                      *mulisóóli.*  
 a-dzi-fiham-ag-a                      mu-li-sóóli  
 CL1-ITV-hide-NARR-FV              CL16-CL5-grass  
 ‘He (went and) hid in the grass.’  
*(08Sept01b, The Hare and the Pheasant, Version I: line 027)*

#### 5.2.5.11 Mode

##### 5.2.5.11.1 Imperative

The imperative takes the form of the verbal stem (verbal root plus any verbal extensions, followed by the final vowel *-a*). It can only be used in second person singular, and it is actually quite rare. More commonly, the subjunctive is used in commands (with both singular and plural subjects). The imperative is toneless.

- (24) *Kuunga umóóto!*  
 kung-a    u-mu-oto  
 light-FV   AUG.3-CL3-fire  
 ‘Light the fire!’  
*(08Sept01b, The Hare and the Pheasant, Version I: line 014)*

Use of the subjunctive in commands is discussed in the next section.

##### 5.2.5.11.2 Subjunctive

The subjunctive is used in expressions of wish, desire, and uncertainty. It is also used in commands (as a more polite form of command than the imperative). The subjunctive is formed minimally with the subject marker, followed by the verbal base (verbal root with any extensions), and the final vowel *-e*. Additionally, object prefixes can occur with the subjunctive. With the exception of the exhortation marker *ha-* used in

commands (see below), no other tam prefixes are used in the subjunctive. A template for the formation of the subjunctive is given below:

- (25) subject marker + (ha-) + (object marker) + verbal base + -e

High tone occurs on the penultimate syllable of the macro-stem. If the macro-stem is monosyllabic, High occurs on that syllable (as shown in (27)). Presence of an object marker causes High to shift to the object marker (see (28) below). Several examples illustrating formation of the subjunctive are given below:

- (26) *ndísaha*                      *ndigóne*  
 ndi-i-sah-a                      ndi-gon-e  
 1SG-PRES-want-FV 1SG-sleep-FV  
 ‘I want to sleep’
- (27) *ísaha*                      *afwé*  
 a-i-sah-a                      a-fw-e  
 CL1-PRES-want-FV CL1-die-FV  
 ‘he wants to die’
- (28) *ísaha*                      *ndimúkagule*  
 a-i-sah-a                      ndi-mú-kagúl-e  
 CL1-PRES-want-FV 1SG-CL1.OBJ-know-FV  
 ‘she wants me to know her’

Several examples from the corpus illustrating use of the subjunctive are given below:

- (29) *Ndísaha*                      *ndiváloongele*                      *ulúsimo...*  
 ndi-i-sah-a                      ndi-va-long-el-e                      u-lu-simo  
 1SG-PRES-want-FV 1SG-CL2.OBJ-tell-APPL-FV AUG.CL11-CL11-story  
 ‘I want to tell you (PL) a story...’  
(08Oct16a, A Farming Story: line 001)
- (30) “*Veya, nde tifihe*                      *pála,*                      *adza uhumukagúla?*”  
 2PL.VOC nde ti-fih-e                      pa-la                      adza u-hu-mu-kagul-a  
 hey if 1PL-arrive-FV CL16-DIST.DEM AUX 2SG-E-CL1.OBJ-know-FV  
 ‘“Hey, if we arrive there, will you know him?”’  
(08Oct16c, Prodigal Son: line 053)



- (31) *Ndeendelele*      *uhugánula*      *fyólofu.*  
 ndi-endelel-e      u-hu-ganul-a      fi-olofu  
 1SG-continue-FV    AUG.CL15-CL15-explain-FV    CL8-many  
 ‘Let me continue to explain many things.’

(08Oct06a, *Riddles*, line 063)

- (32) *Tíípele*      *amatáwa*      *mápya.*  
 ti-i-pel-e      a-ma-tawa      ma-pya  
 1PL-REFL-PRES-FV    AUG.6-CL6-name    CL6-new  
 ‘Let’s give ourselves new names.’

(08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*: line 038)

The subjunctive can also be used imperatively. This strategy of making a command is much more common than the actual imperative form described in 5.2.5.11.1 above. The subjunctive is a much more polite way of making a command than is the imperative. Some examples of the subjunctive used as a command are given below:

- (33) *Mubíte!*  
 mu-bit-e  
 2PL-go-FV  
 ‘(you (PL)) Go!’
- (34) *Tugóne!*  
 tu-gon-e  
 1PL-sleep-FV  
 ‘Let’s sleep!’
- (35) *Umútove!*  
 u-mú-tov-e  
 2SG-CL1.OBJ-hit-FV  
 ‘Hit him/her!’

The exhortation marker *ha-* can be used to increase the urgency of a command. When *ha-* is used, the subject marker is dropped (the increased urgency of the commands in the examples below is conveyed in the free translation using multiple exclamation points):

- (36) ***Hagóne!***  
 ha-gon-e  
 HOR-sleep-FV  
 ‘Sleep!!!’
- (37) ***Hamútove!***  
 ha-mú-tov-e  
 HOR-CL1.OBJ-hit-FV  
 ‘Hit him/her!!!’

When the imperfective suffix *-ág* is added to a command, the effect is inceptive:

- (38) a. ***tugóne!***  
 tu-gon-e  
 1PL-sleep-FV  
 ‘let’s sleep!’
- b. ***tugonáge!***  
 tu-gon-ag-e  
 1PL-sleep-IPFV-FV  
 ‘let’s start to sleep!’

### 5.2.6 Negation

In comparison with some other Bantu languages which have fairly complex systems of negation, Bena’s negation system is quite straightforward. There are three negative morphemes: the negative prefix *si-* (used on all inflected finite verb forms), the negative prefix *ta-* (used to negate verbal infinitives), and the negative verb *taana* (used to negate the subjunctive). Each strategy of negation utilized by Bena is discussed below.

#### 5.2.6.1 Negation of finite verb forms

Finite verb forms are negated using the morpheme *si-*. This morpheme can occur in one of two positions. Either it occurs immediately preceding the subject marker in the pre-SM slot, or it occurs immediately following the subject marker in the NEG<sub>2</sub> slot.

Alternate ordering of the negative and subject marker are shown below:

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| (39) a. <i>sindígona</i><br>si-ndi-i-gon-a<br>NEG-1SG-PRES-sleep-FV<br>‘I’m not sleeping’        | b. <i>ndisígona</i><br>ndi-si-i-gon-a<br>1SG-NEG-PRES-sleep-FV<br>‘I’m not sleeping’ |
| (40) a. <i>si-agéénda</i> <sup>8</sup><br>si-a-gend-a<br>NEG-CL1-walk-FV<br>‘s/he’s not walking’ | b. <i>asigéénda</i><br>a-si-gend-a<br>CL1-NEG-walk-FV<br>‘s/he’s not walking’        |

In both (a) forms above, the negative marker occurs immediately preceding the subject marker, in the pre-SM slot. In the (b) forms, the negative marker occurs immediately following the subject marker in the NEG<sub>2</sub> slot. At this point it is unclear what the difference in meaning is between the two orderings, however speakers do show a preference for the NEG-SM ordering with first person singular, and a preference for the opposite order (SM-NEG) with all other persons. Thus in the examples above, (39a) and (40b) are the preferred forms. Nurse (2008) notes that historically, the primary negative (occurring before the subject marker) was likely in complementary distribution with the secondary negative (occurring after the subject marker). The secondary negative was used in non-main-clause forms such as infinitives, relatives, and subjunctives. The primary negative was used everywhere else. If such a distinction ever existed in Bena, it has been lost.

The negative prefix *si-* can co-occur with nearly every finite verb form and does not generally change tense-aspect morphemes. In verbal configurations composed of a single inflected verb, the negative prefix occurs on that verb. In forms composed of an

---

<sup>8</sup> Note in this example that vowel coalescence is blocked between the negative marker and the subject marker.

inflected auxiliary followed by a main verb, the main verb receives the negative marking. Forms made up of an uninflected auxiliary followed by a main verb receive their negative marking on the main verb. The following chart summarizes all the negative forms of finite verbs, using third person singular forms and the verbal stem *eelúha* (chosen because it is vowel initial and thus illustrates well patterns of vowel coalescence with the negative morpheme). Ordering follows that used in 5.2.5.3 above. The non-negated form is given as a reference point, but only the negated form is glossed.

P <sub>1</sub> perfective	<i>ve éélwihe</i>	<i>ve aseelwihe</i>	's/he didn't walk just now'
P <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>éélwihe</i>	<i>aseelwihe</i>	's/he didn't walk'
P <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>aheelwihe</i>	<i>sindaheelwihe</i>	's/he didn't walk a few days ago'
P <sub>4</sub> perfective	<i>eelwíihe</i>	<i>sindeelwíihe</i>	s/he didn't walk long ago'
pres. perfective	<i>ihwheelúha</i>	<i>asihwheelúha</i>	's/he is not walking'
F <sub>1</sub> perfective	<i>adza ihwheelúha</i>	<i>adza asihwheelúha</i>	's/he will not walk (very soon)'
F <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>adzihwheelúha</i>	<i>asidzihwheelúha</i>	's/he will not walk (soon)'
F <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>alééluha</i>	<i>asilééluha</i>	's/he will not walk (in a long time)'
pres. progressive	<i>ali muhúgona</i>	<i>asili muhúgona</i>	's/he is not sleeping'
P <sub>1</sub> progressive	<i>ééluhiige</i>	<i>aseeluhiige</i>	's/he was not climbing (earlier)'
P <sub>2</sub> progressive	<i>ahihwheelúha</i>	<i>asihihwheelúha</i>	's/he was not climbing (earlier)'
P <sub>3</sub> progressive	<i>aheeluhiige</i>	<i>asiheeluhiige</i>	's/he was not climbing (a few days ago)'
P <sub>4</sub> progressive	<i>eeluhága</i>	<i>aseeluhága</i>	's/he was not climbing (last year)'
F <sub>1</sub> progressive	<i>ívedza ihwheelúha</i>	<i>asívedza ihwheelúha</i>	's/he will not be climbing (later)'
F <sub>2</sub> progressive	<i>adzívedza ihwheelúha</i>	<i>asidzívedza ihwheelúha</i>	's/he will not be climbing (tomorrow)'
F <sub>2</sub> progressive	<i>alávedza ihwheelúha</i>	<i>asilávedza ihwheelúha</i>	's/he will not be climbing (next year)'
pres. habitual	<i>a ihwheelúha</i>	<i>asa ihwheelúha</i>	's/he doesn't climb often'
P <sub>4</sub> habitual	<i>eeluhíige</i>	<i>aseeluhíige</i>	's/he didn't used to climb'
pres. persistive <sub>1</sub>	<i>pele ihwheelúha</i>	---	
pres. persistive <sub>2</sub>	<i>apihwheelúha</i>	---	
P <sub>3</sub> persistive	<i>aaté éélwihe</i>	--	
P <sub>4</sub> persistive	<i>aandé éélwihe</i>	---	
P <sub>2</sub> anterior	<i>éélwihe</i>	<i>aseelwihe</i>	's/he hasn't climbed'
P <sub>3</sub> anterior	<i>ahaavé éélwihe</i>	<i>ahaavé aseelwihe</i>	's/he hadn't climbed (recently)'
P <sub>4</sub> anterior	<i>aavé éélwihe</i>	<i>aavé aseelwihe</i>	's/he hadn't climbed (long ago)'
F <sub>1</sub> anterior	<i>ívedza éélwihe</i>	<i>ívedza aseelwihe</i>	's/he will not have climbed (very soon)'

F <sub>2</sub> anterior	<i>adzívedza</i> <i>éélwihe</i>	<i>adzívedza aseelwihe</i>	's/he will not have climbed (in a few days)'
F <sub>3</sub> anterior	<i>alávedza éélwihe</i>	<i>alávedza aseelwihe</i>	's/he will not have climbed (in a long time)'
narrative	<i>ndigonága/e</i>	---	

Table 5.43 Negative finite verbs

As can be seen in the above table, most of the forms have negatives, with the exception of verbs in the persistive aspect and narrative tense.

### 5.2.6.2 Negation of the infinitive

Negated infinitives are formed by prefixing the negative morpheme *tá-* before the verbal stem. High tone occurs on the negative morpheme.

- (41) a. *hukagúla*  
hu-kagul-a  
CL15-know-FV  
'to know'
- b. *hutákagula*  
hu-ta-kagul-a  
CL15-NEG-know-FV  
'to not know'
- (42) a. *hwáádza*  
hu-adz-a  
CL15-come-FV  
'to come'
- b. *hutáádza*  
hu-ta-adz-a  
CL15-NEG-come-FV  
'to not come'

Negative infinitives have an alternate form, where *hi-* may replace the Class 15 prefix.

Thus the examples above, *hutákagula* 'to not know' and *hutáádza* 'to not come' may also be pronounced as *hitákagula* and *hitáádza*, respectively. At this point, it is unclear what the difference is between the two forms. They behave exactly the same way. Speakers claim that they are identical in meaning and that they are not dialectal variants. They say that they are simply different ways of pronouncing the same thing. Below is an example of the negated infinitive, taken from the corpus:

- (43) *Líno, ihifisi hihwáádza, hitákagula hutigila huna mútego.*  
 líno i-hi-fisi hi-hu-adz-a hi-ta-kagúl-a hutigila hu-na mu-tego  
 now AUG.7- CL7-E- CL15-NEG- COMP CL15-have CL3-trap  
 CL7-hyena come-FV know-FV  
 ‘Now the hyena came along, not knowing that there was a trap.’  
 (08Oct17b, *The Hyena and the Hare*: line 090)

### 5.2.6.3 Negation of the subjunctive

To form the negative of the subjunctive, the subjunctive form of the verb *táána* is used, followed by the infinitive. The verb *táána* is used only to negate the subjunctive; it has no other meaning/use. Some examples of the negative subjunctive are given below:

- (44) a. *ugéénde!*  
 u-gend-e  
 2SG-walk-FV  
 ‘walk!’  
 b. *utááne uhugéénda!*  
 u-taan-e u-hu-gend-a  
 2SG-NEG-FV AUG.CL15-CL15-walk-FV  
 ‘don’t walk!’
- (45) a. *tugonáge!*  
 tu-gon-ag-e  
 1PL-sleep-IPFV-FV  
 ‘let’s start to sleep!’  
 b. *tutááne uhúgona!*  
 tu-taan-e u-hu-gon-a  
 1PL-NEG-FV AUG.CL15-CL15-sleep-FV  
 ‘let’s not start to sleep!’

### 5.2.7 Verbs with reduced morphology

There are a number of verbs in Bena that show reduced inflectional morphology and cannot take any type of derivational morphology. They are the verbal copula *li*, *húvedza* ‘to be’, *húna* ‘to exist’, and *-gáya* ‘be without, not have’.

### 5.2.7.1 Copula *li*

The verbal copula is used in a variety of predicative constructions (see 7.1.3). It is an takes little of the prototypical verb morphology. There is no infinitival form. The copula is marked for subject in the SM slot; it can take the negative prefix *si-*, and it can receive only certain past tense prefixes (*aa-* ‘past<sub>4</sub>’ and *haa-* ‘past<sub>3</sub>’) in TA<sub>1</sub>. The copula has no post-stem morphology. Other forms use the verb *huva* ‘to be/become’ as an auxiliary. Forms of the copula are summarized below:

present perfective	<i>ndili mulími</i>	‘I am a farmer’
	<i>sindíli mulími</i>	‘I am not a farmer’
P <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndihaali mulími</i>	‘I was a farmer (recently)’
	<i>sindihaali mulími</i>	‘I wasn’t a farmer (recently)’
P <sub>4</sub> perfective	<i>ndaali mulími</i>	‘I was a farmer (long ago)’
	<i>sindaali mulími</i>	‘I wasn’t a farmer (long ago)’
F <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndidziva ndili mulími</i>	‘I will be a farmer (soon)’
	<i>sindidziva ndili mulími</i>	‘I won’t be a farmer (soon)’
F <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndiláva ndili mulími</i>	‘I will be a farmer (in a long time)’
	<i>sindiláva ndili mulími</i>	‘I won’t be a farmer (in a long time)’
present persistive	<i>pele ndili mulími</i>	‘I am still a farmer’
subjunctive	<i>(ndísaha) ndivé ndili mulími</i>	‘I would like to be a farmer’
	<i>(ndísaha) ndivé sindili mulími</i>	‘I would like to not be a farmer’
imperative	<i>uvedzáge uli mulími</i>	‘be a farmer!’

Table 5.44 Forms of the copula *li*

Copular clauses are described in 7.1.3.



### 5.2.7.2 *Va* (*húvedza*)‘be’

The auxiliary *va* (infinitive *húvedza*) has the richest morphological marking of the morphologically reduced verbs. It can take a subject maker, tense and aspect affixes, and a final vowel. However, unlike full verbs, *va* cannot take any derivational morphology. *Va* can take an epenthetic *-edz* between the root *v* and the final vowel *-a* when it needs an additional mora in order to bear tone. Thus, for example, the form of the infinitive is *húvedza*. The infinitive has the APU tone melody (see 2.3.4.3). Without the epenthetic syllable, *\*huva* would not be long enough to bear tone. Therefore an epenthetic *-edz* is inserted, resulting in *húvedza*. The auxiliary *va* when used together with the conjunction *na* ‘and’ has the meaning ‘have’. *Va* is also used as an auxiliary in a number of tense-aspect configurations. Forms of the auxiliary *va* are summarized below:

present perfective	<i>ndíva</i>	'I am'
	<i>sindíva</i>	'I am not'
P <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndihaavé</i>	'I was (recently)'
	<i>sindihaavé</i>	'I wasn't (recently)'
P <sub>4</sub> perfective	<i>ndaavé</i>	'I was not (long ago)'
	<i>sindaavé</i>	'I wasn't (long ago)'
F <sub>2</sub> perfective	<i>ndidzivedza</i>	'I will be'
	<i>sindidzivedza</i>	'I won't be'
F <sub>3</sub> perfective	<i>ndiláva/ndilávedza</i> <sup>9</sup>	'I will be (in a long time)'
	<i>sisindiláva/sindililávedza</i>	'I won't be (in a long time)'
present persistive	<i>ndipivé</i>	'I still am'
subjunctive	<i>ndivé</i>	'let me be'
imperative	<i>uvedzáge</i>	'be!'

Table 5.45 Forms of the auxiliary *va* be'

## 5.2.7.3 Huna 'to exist'

The verb *huna* is used to predicate the existence of something or someone (see 7.1.4). It is unclear whether or not *huna* is a borrowing from the Swahili verb *kuna* (with the same functions and meanings). *Huna* cannot be marked for tense or aspect, and is therefore used only in the present tense. *Huna* takes a dummy subject in one of the locative classes (subject marking is the only inflection which *huna* can take). Use of *huna* is illustrated in (46) and (47):

<sup>9</sup> Both forms were given by consultants.



- (50) *Ndihaali mugáya kááye.*  
 ndi-haa-li mu-gaya kááye  
 1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-COP CL1-lack house  
 ‘I didn’t have a house.’

#### 5.2.7.5 Existential

The existential verb has several components. It takes as its subject one of the locative classes. This is followed by *o*-<sup>11</sup>, then the adjective class prefix of the noun whose existence is being predicated. This is followed by the copula *li*. A schematic, along with some examples, of the existential verb is given in (51):

- |      |                 |           |            |               |   |  |
|------|-----------------|-----------|------------|---------------|---|--|
| (51) | <b>LocClass</b> | <b>-o</b> | <b>ACP</b> | <b>Copula</b> |   |  |
|      | pa-             | o-        | yi-        | li            | → | <i>pooyoli</i> ‘there is (a person)’         |
|      | hu-             | o-        | gi-        | li            | → | <i>hoogili</i> ‘there is (a Class 4 item)’   |
|      | mu-             | o-        | dzi-       | li            | → | <i>moodzili</i> ‘there are (Class 10 items)’ |

Forms of the existential verb are summarized in Table 5.46:

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<sup>11</sup> It is uncertain what (if any) meaning *o*- has here.

CLASS	EXIST.CL16	EXIST.CL17	EXIST.CL18
1	<i>pooyili</i>	<i>hooyili</i>	<i>mooyili</i>
2	<i>poovali</i>	<i>hoovali</i>	<i>moovali</i>
3	<i>poogoli</i>	<i>hoogoli</i>	<i>moogoli</i>
4	<i>poogili</i>	<i>hoogili</i>	<i>moogili</i>
5	<i>poolili</i>	<i>hoolili</i>	<i>moolili</i>
6	<i>poogali</i>	<i>hoogali</i>	<i>moogali</i>
7	<i>poohili</i>	<i>hoohili</i>	<i>moohili</i>
8	<i>poofili</i>	<i>hoofili</i>	<i>moofili</i>
9	<i>pooyili</i>	<i>hooyili</i>	<i>mooyili</i>
10	<i>poodzili</i>	<i>hoodzili</i>	<i>moodzili</i>
11	<i>poololi</i>	<i>hoololi</i>	<i>moololi</i>
12	<i>poohali</i>	<i>hoohali</i>	<i>moohali</i>
13	<i>pootoli</i>	<i>hootoli</i>	<i>mootoli</i>
14	<i>poowoli</i>	<i>hoowoli</i>	<i>moowoli</i>
15	<i>pooholi</i>	<i>hooholi</i>	<i>mooholi</i>
16	<i>poopali</i>	--	--
17	--	<i>hooholi</i>	--
18	--	--	<i>moomoli</i>
20	<i>poogoli</i>	<i>hoogoli</i>	<i>moogoli</i>

Table 5.46 Existential verb

Use of the existential verb is described in 7.1.4.

### 5.2.8 Subject relatives

The final inflectional morpheme to be discussed is the subject relative. Subject relatives are marked on the verb in the pre-SM slot. With the exception of Class 1, subject

relativizers are identical in form to the augment. Forms of subject relatives are summarized below:

CLASS	SUBJ. REL.	CLASS	SUBJ. REL.	CLASS	SUBJ. REL.
1	ye	8	i-	15	u-
2	a-	9	i-	16	a-
3	u-	10	i-	17	u-
4	i-	11	u-	18	u-
5	i-	12	a-	20	u-
6	a-	13	u-		
7	i-	14	u-		

Table 5.47 Forms of Bena subject relatives

Several examples of subject relatives are shown below:

- (52) *ilibihi*                      *iligwe*  
i-li-bíhi                      i-li-gw-e  
AUG.5-CL5-tree              REL.5-CL5-fall-FV  
‘the tree which fell’
- (53) *aváánu*                      *avihwáádza*  
a-va-nu                      a-va-i-hu-adz-a  
AUG.2-CL2-person              REL.2-CL2-PRES-E-come-FV  
‘the people who are coming’
- (54) *ifideego*                      *ifinya*                      *magúlu*              *gádatu*  
i-fi-deego                      i-fi-ny-a                      ma-gulu              ga-datu  
AUG.8-CL8-chair              REL.8-CL8-have-FV              CL6-leg              CL6-three  
‘the chairs which have three legs’

Because the subject relative occurs in the pre-SM slot, when a subject relativizer is negated, the negative morpheme must occur after the subject marker (in NEG<sub>2</sub>), rather than in the pre-SM slot, because that slot has already been filled by the subject relative.

- (55) a. *aváána*                      *avígona*  
           a-va-na                      a-va-i-gon-a  
           AUG.2-CL2-child    REL.2-CL2-PRES-sleep-FV  
           ‘the children who are sleeping’
- (56) b. *aváána*                      *avasígona*  
           a-va-na                      a-va-si-i-gon-a  
           AUG.2-CL2-child    REL.2-CL2-NEG-PRES-sleep-FV  
           ‘the children who are not sleeping’

Syntactic behavior of the relative clause is discussed in Chapter 5.

### 5.3 Verbal derivation

In Bena, verbs can be derived from other verbs (and in some cases, adjectives) using a series of derivational suffixes (and one prefix) and through reduplication. Verbal derivational suffixes are commonly referred to as “extensions” in Bantu (Schadeburg 2003). Derivational suffixes can increase or decrease verbal valence. A third group of suffixes maintains verbal valence but changes the meaning of the verb in some other fashion (such as intensifying the action or by indicating repetition). Several of the extensions (such as passive, applicative, and causative) are extremely productive. Some (such as the stative and separative suffixes, discussed below) are somewhat productive. Others are completely unproductive in present day Bena, but can be traced to proto-Bantu. For most verbs containing these extensions, underived forms no longer exist but they can be determined by comparison with other forms based on the same verbal roots. These lexicalized verbal extensions also participate in certain phonological processes such as spirantization (see 2.4.6) and imbrication (2.4.7). In general, verbal stems with

more than two syllables are likely to contain at least one derivational suffix, though it is not always possible to determine the suffix's origin.

Verbs may contain up to three derivational extensions, though verbs with three extensions are fairly rare. In verbs containing multiple suffixes, the most productive suffixes occur furthest from the root. Lexicalized (unproductive) suffixes always occur immediately following the verbal root. Derivational suffixes in Bena are high-toned, though tonal melodies associated with tense-aspect combinations result in tonal changes.

Below is a list of Bena derivational extensions:

EXTENSION	FORM	GLOSS
Passive	-w	PASS
Applicative	-íl, -él	APPL
Causative	-i, -ís, -és, -ídz, -édz	CAUS
Reciprocal	-án	RECIP
Stative	-íh,	STAT
Separative (transitive)	-úl, -ól	SEP
Separative (intransitive)	-úh, -óh	SEP
Intensive	-ás	INTENS
Impositive	-íh, -éh	IMPOS
Repetitive	-áng	REP
Positional	-ám	POS
Extensive	-ál	EXT
Tentive	-át	TENT

Table 5.48 Bena derivational extensions



The following sections discuss morphological aspects of Bena derivational extensions.

Extensions are discussed roughly in order of productivity (the most productive suffixes are discussed first). Syntactic functions of these suffixes are discussed further in 7.1.2. At the end of this section is an analysis of derivation through reduplication. Reduplication is included here because, though it is not a verbal extension, it is another strategy used in verbal derivation.

### 5.3.1 Passive (-w)

The Bena passive suffix is extremely productive and semantically very regular.

The passive is formed by using the derivational suffix -w. The passive also causes High tone to shift to the syllable preceding the passive:

- |         |   |    |  |
|---------|---|----|--|
| (57) a. | <i>dzéénga</i><br>dzeeng-a<br>build-FV<br>'build' | b. | <i>dzééngwa</i><br>dzeeng-w-a<br>build-PASS-FV<br>'be built' |
| (58) a. | <i>buda</i><br>bud-a<br>kill-FV<br>'kill'         | b. | <i>búdwa</i><br>bud-w-a<br>kill-PASS-FV<br>'be killed'       |

In a verb with multiple derivational suffixes, the passive morpheme always occurs closest to the final vowel:

- |         |   |    |  |
|---------|---|----|--|
| (59) a. | <i>gwa</i><br>gw-a<br>fall-FV<br>'fall' | b. | <i>gwíswa</i><br>gw-is-w-a<br>fall-CAUS-PASS-FV<br>'be felled' |
|---------|---|----|--|

- (60) a. *díínda*      b. *dindulilwa*  
          dind-a        dind-ul-il-w-a  
          close-FV      close-SEP-APPL-PASS-FV  
          ‘close’        ‘be opened by/with’

(See section 7.1.2.4.1 for a discussion of the syntactic functions of the passive and the grammatical relations which can be passivized.)

### 5.3.2 Applicative (-*il*)

The applicative is a valence-increasing operation which introduces an argument.

The introduced argument can be beneficiary, recipient, instrument, location, or reason.

The applicative can also be referred to as “dative” (i.e., Schadeburg 2003), or

“prepositional” (Ashton 1976). The form of the applicative suffix in Bena is *-il*; following stems where the final stem vowel is mid, the applicative harmonizes to *-él* (see 2.4.3).

The applicative suffix triggers imbrication in verbs ending in /l/ (see example (64)

below). Imbrication is discussed in 2.4.7. The applicative suffix is extremely productive.

Several examples illustrating its formation are given below:

- (61) a. *dzéénga*      b. *dzeengéla*  
          dzeng-a        dzeng-il-a  
          build-FV        build-APPL-FV  
          ‘build’          ‘build for’
- (62) a. *gima*            b. *gimíla*  
          gim-a            gim-il-a  
          dig-FV            dig-APPL-FV  
          ‘dig’               ‘dig with’
- (63) a. *pitúha*          b. *pituhíla*  
          pituh-a          pituh-il-a  
          turn-FV          turn-APPL-fv  
          ‘turn’            ‘turn to’

- (64) a. *kééla*                      b. *keelíya*  
           keel-a                      keel-il-a  
           be.happy-FV              be.happy-APPL-FV  
           ‘be happy’                ‘be happy because of’

In some cases, the meaning of the applicative form of a verb has become lexicalized

(though verbs that have a fossilized applicative cannot take a second applicative suffix):

- (65) *aaniha*    ‘hang’                      *aanihíla*    ‘hang clothes to dry’  
       *géénda*    ‘walk’                      *geendéla*    ‘visit’  
       *gona*      ‘sleep’                      *gonéla*      ‘go to sleep hungry’  
       *íima*      ‘stand’                      *iimíla*      ‘supervise’  
       *lamúha*    ‘wake up’                      *lamuhíla*    ‘feel better’

In addition to the normal applicative suffix, there is a long applicative, *-ilil*. As with the shorter applicative form, vowel harmony applies with verbal stems which have a final mid vowel; here, the form of the long applicative is *-elél*. The normal applicative is much more productive than the long form. The meaning of verbs derived with the long applicative is also more difficult to predict (though several verbs with the long applicative have an intensive meaning). Several examples of the long applicative are given below:

- (66) *viiha*      ‘put’                      *viihíla*    ‘put on’                      *viihilíla*    ‘put on a fire’  
       *gona*      ‘sleep’                      *gonéla*    ‘go to sleep hungry’                      *goneléla*    ‘sleep hard’  
       *tova*      ‘hit’                      *tovéla*    ‘hit with’                      *toveléla*    ‘pound into’

Section 7.1.2.2 discusses the syntactic function of the applicative construction in greater detail.

### 5.3.3 Causative (-í, -ís, -ídz)

The causative extension introduces an argument. The meaning of the causative is almost always one of causation (someone makes someone/something do an action), however there are a few cases when the causative extension has an intensifying meaning. Verbs can take a single causative suffix (i.e., double causatives are disallowed). There are three causative morphemes in Bena: *-í*, *-ís*, and *-ídz*. The latter two (*-ís* and *-ídz*) exhibit vowel height harmony and are realized as *-és* and *-édz*, respectively, following verbs whose final stem vowel is mid. According to Schadeburg (2003), there were two causative extensions in Proto-Bantu: *\*-i* and *\*-ici*. These were in complementary distribution: *\*-ici* was used after short CV roots and *\*-i* was used after longer CVC(VC) roots. In Bena, the situation is slightly more complicated and it is no longer possible to always predict which of the causative extensions will be used with a particular verb.

With monosyllabic C(G) verb roots, *-ís* is used:

- |         |   |    |  |
|---------|---|----|--|
| (67) a. | <i>gwa</i><br>gw-a<br>fall-FV<br>'fall'     | b. | <i>gwísa</i><br>gw-is-a<br>fall-CAUS-FV<br>'fell'                  |
| (68) a. | <i>nywa</i><br>nyw-a<br>drink-FV<br>'drink' | b. | <i>nywésa</i><br>nyw-es-a<br>drink-CAUS-FV<br>'make someone drink' |

*-ís* is also used when a verbal root ends in a prenasalized affricate:<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> It is also likely that verbs ending in the affricate <dz> would also use the *-ís* extension, but no such examples exist in the current database.

- (69) a. *vóóndza*  
vondz-a  
taste-FV  
'taste'
- b. *voondzésa*  
vondz-is-a  
taste-CAUS-FV  
'make someone taste'

It is more difficult to sort out the relationship between the other two (more common) causative extensions: *-í* and *-ídz*. Most verbs take one or the other, however there are two verbs in the database which can take both suffixes (the meanings of the causative forms for both verbs are identical):

- (70) a. *géénda*  
gend-a  
walk-FV  
'walk'
- b. *gééndza*,  
gend-i-a  
walk-CAUS-FV  
'show a guest around'
- c. *geendédza*  
gend-idz-a  
walk-CAUS-FV  
'show a guest around'
- (71) a. *mema*  
mem-a  
full-FV  
'be full, fill (INTR)'
- b. *mémya*  
mem-i-a  
full-CAUS-FV  
'fill (TR)'
- c. *memédza*  
mem-idz-a  
full-CAUS-FV  
'fill (TR)'

*-í* is used following verbs ending in several of the unproductive verbal extensions (separative, extensive, stative, and impositive). *-í* always triggers spirantization (see 2.4.6):

- (72) a. *golóha*  
gol-uh-a  
straight-SEP-FV  
'be straight'
- b. *golósa*  
gol-uh-i-a  
straight-SEP-CAUS-FV  
'straighten something'
- (73) a. *lemála*  
lem-al-a  
hurt-EXT-FV  
'be hurt'
- b. *lemádza*  
lem-al-i-a  
hurt-EXT-CAUS-FV  
'hurt someone'

- (74) a. *legéha*  
leg-eh-a  
loose-STAT-FV  
'be loose'
- b. *legésa*  
leg-eh-i-a  
loose-STAT-CAUS-FV  
'loosen something'

*-í* is used with a number of other verbs which have no derivational extension. Several examples are given below:

- (75) a. *gúla*  
gul-a  
buy-FV  
'buy'
- b. *gúdza*  
gul-i-a  
buy-CAUS-FV  
'sell'
- (76) a. *yaga*  
yag-a  
lost-FV  
'be lost'
- b. *yádza*  
yag-i-a  
lost-CAUS-FV  
'lose'
- (77) a. *púúpa*  
puup-a  
boil-FV  
'boil (INTR)'
- b. *púúfya*  
puup-i-a  
boil-CAUS-FV  
'boil (TR)'
- (78) a. *kaláva*  
kalav-a  
bathe-FV  
'bathe (oneself)'
- b. *kaláfya*  
kalav-i-a  
bathe-CAUS-FV  
'wash (something or someone else)'

Where *-í* is used following the separative, extensive, stative, and impositive suffixes, *-ídz* is used following the applicative:

- (79) a. *gona*  
gon-a  
sleep-FV  
'sleep'
- b. *goneledza*  
gon-il-idz-a  
sleep-APPL-CAUS-FV  
'put someone to sleep'
- (80) a. *fuung'a*  
fuung'-a  
smoke-FV  
'give out smoke'
- b. *fuung'ilidza*  
fuung'-il-idz-a  
smoke-APPL-CAUS-FV  
'cause something to smoke'

As with *-í*, *-ídz* is used with a number of other verbs. (In general, *-ídz* seems to be more common and is likely more productive than *-í*, though *-í* does still seem to be fairly productive).

- (81) a.

*hola*  
hol-a  
birth-FV  
'give birth'
- b.

*holédza*  
hol-idz-a  
birth-CAUS-FV  
'(to) midwife (help someone give birth)'
- (82) a.

*váánga*  
vang-a  
begin-FV  
'begin (INTR)'
- b.

*vaangídz*  
vang-idz-a  
begin-CAUS-FV  
'begin (TR)'
- (83) a.

*baaba*  
baab-a  
carry-FV  
'carry'
- b.

*baabídz*  
baab-idz-a  
carry-CAUS-FV  
'make someone carry'

The following table summarizes the use of each type of causative:

-ís	-í	-ídz
with monosyllabic roots of the form C(G)	following separative, extensive, stative, and impositive extensions	following the applicative extension
with verbal roots ending in an affricate	with other verbs	with other verbs

Table 5.49 Situations in which the three causative extensions are used

Most of the verbs given in the above examples have a causation meaning with the causative suffix (someone makes someone/something else perform an action). For a few verbs, the meaning of the causative suffix is intensive or carries an implication of greater intention, rather than causation:

(84)	<i>goongóla</i>	‘invite’	<i>goongolédza</i>	‘urge’
	<i>kemééla</i>	‘call’	<i>keméédza</i>	‘summon’
	<i>lola</i>	‘see’	<i>lolédza</i>	‘watch, guard’
	<i>loongóla</i>	‘precede’	<i>loongódza</i>	‘lead’
	<i>nava</i>	‘lick’	<i>navilédza</i>	‘lick up completely’
	<i>pulíha</i>	‘hear’	<i>pulihédza</i>	‘listen’
	<i>tova</i>	‘hit’	<i>tovédza</i>	‘smash’

The causative suffix can also be used when deriving verbs from other parts of speech. Thus the word *pole* (borrowed from Swahili) which is a word one uses to express sympathy, can be derived using the causative extension to form the verb *polédza* ‘to comfort someone’. Similarly, *hodi* (also borrowed from Swahili), which roughly translates into “knock, knock!” (a word one calls out when visiting someone else’s home) can be derived into *hodédza*, ‘to call out a greeting at someone’s door’.

#### 5.3.4 Reciprocal (-an)

The reciprocal extension *-án* expresses reciprocity. It derives from the Proto-Bantu reciprocal extension *\*-an* (also called “associative”, Schadeburg 2003). Reciprocal verbs must have a plural subject. Several examples illustrating formation of reciprocal verbs are given below:

- |      |    |              |    |                   |
|------|----|--------------|----|-------------------|
| (85) | a. | <i>buda</i>  | b. | <i>budána</i>     |
|      |    | <i>bud-a</i> |    | <i>bud-an-a</i>   |
|      |    | kill-FV      |    | kill-RECIP-FV     |
|      |    | ‘kill’       |    | ‘kill each other’ |



- |         |  |    |  |
|---------|--|----|--|
| (86) a. | <i>táánga</i><br>tang-a<br>help-FV<br>‘help’ | b. | <i>taangána</i><br>tang-an-a<br>help-RECIP-FV<br>‘help each other’ |
| (87) a. | <i>tova</i><br>tov-a<br>hit-FV<br>‘hit’      | b. | <i>tována</i><br>tov-an-a<br>hit-RECIP-FV<br>‘hit each other’      |

The reciprocal extension always has a reciprocal meaning, unlike some other Bantu languages where the reciprocal (or “associative”) actually expressions actions that are done jointly (see, for example, Petzell’s 2008 description of Kagulu). Description of joint actions can be done using the intensive extension (see 5.3.7). The reflexive prefix *i-* can also be used to express reciprocity; see 5.2.4.

### 5.3.5 Stative (*-ih*)

The stative extension *-ih* is used to express something which has undergone a particular action or which is capable of undergoing that action. The stative can also be referred to as “neuter” (Schadeburg 2003) and is similar in function to the middle voice in other languages (see Kemmer 1993). The stative construction reduces verbal valence: the subject of the original verb is deleted and the original object is promoted to a subject. The resultant verb expresses either a state that has resulted from a particular action or the process of undergoing that action. The stative suffix *-ih* undergoes vowel height harmony; thus for verbs whose final stem vowel is mid, the stative lowers to *-éh* (see 2.4.3). Use of the stative is illustrated in (88):

- (88) a. *Umwáána*                      *adéényile*                      *utubíhi*.  
           u-mu-ana                      a--deeny-ile                      u-tu-bihi  
           AUG.1-CL1-child            CL1--break-FV                    AUG.12-CL12-tree  
           ‘The child broke the twig.’
- b. *Utubíhi*                      *tudéényiíhe*.  
           u-tu-bihi                      tu-deeny-ih-ile  
           AUG.12-CL12-tree           CL12-break-STAT-FV  
           ‘The twig is broken.’

Schadeburg (2003) notes that in some languages the stative extension is fairly unproductive and can only be used with verbs of destruction and experience. However, in Bena the stative extension is extremely productive and can be used with a broad range of transitive verbs. Any verb where the subject has the potential to be affected by the action described by the verb can be combined with the stative extension. Several examples illustrating formation of the stative are given below:

- (89) a. *anáánga*                      b. *anaangíha*  
           anang-a                      anang-ih-a  
           destroy-FV                    destroy-STAT-FV  
           ‘destroy’                      ‘be destroyed’
- (90) a. *gima*                              b. *gimíha*  
           gim-a                              gim-ih-a  
           dig-FV                              dig-STAT-FV  
           ‘dig’                                ‘be diggable’
- (91) a. *kagúla*                            b. *kagulíha*  
           kagul-a                            kagul-ih-a  
           know-fv                            know-STAT-FV  
           ‘know’                              ‘be known, knowable’
- (92) a. *liya*                                b. *lidzíha*  
           liy-a                                liy-ih-a  
           eat-FV                                eat-STAT-FV  
           ‘eat’                                ‘be edible’

- (93) a. *deenya*                      b. *deenyéha*  
           deeny-a                      deeny-eh-a  
           break-FV                    break-STAT-FV  
           ‘break’                      ‘be broken’

The syntactic function of the stative is discussed in 7.1.2.4.2.

### 5.3.6 Separative (-*úl*, -*úh*)

There are two separative extensions in Bena: -*úh* and -*úl*. -*úh* is intransitive; -*úl* is transitive. These are reflexes of \*-*uk* and \*-*ul* which have been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Schadeburg 2003). The separative has also been referred to as “reversive” (i.e., Ngonyani 2003). Schadeburg (2003:78) defines the separative extension as describing “movement out of some original position”. A significant subset of the verbs using the -*úl* and -*úh* extensions are reversive in meaning, though as this term cannot be generalized to cover all the verbs with these extensions, the term “separative” is preferred. Both suffixes harmonize (-*óh*/-*ól*, respectively) following a stem whose final stem vowel is /o/. (94) illustrates both suffixes with *díinda* ‘close’:

- (94) a. *diinda*                      b. *diindúha*                      c. *diindúla*  
           dind-a                      dind-uh-a                      dind-ul-a  
           close-FV                    close-SEP-FV                    close-SEP-FV  
           ‘close’                      ‘be open’                      ‘open’

-*úh* is largely unproductive and most verbs utilizing the -*uh* extension have lexicalized. In fact, *diindúha* ‘be open’ in (94) is the only verb in the entire data set for which the underived form (*díinda* ‘close’) currently exists. For other verbs, the stem can be reconstructed by comparing the -*úh* form with other derived forms, even though a

completely underived stem no longer exists. The following examples show both *-úh* (intransitive) and *-úl* (transitive) forms for a number of verbs:

(95)	<i>baadzúha</i>	‘break (INTR)’	<i>badzúla</i>	‘split, break (TR)’
	<i>deemúha</i>	‘tear (INTR), be torn’	<i>deemúla</i>	‘tear (TR)’
	<i>golóha</i>	‘be straight’	<i>golóla</i>	‘iron’
	<i>inamúha</i>	‘get up’	<i>inamúla</i>	‘raise’
	<i>menyúha</i>	‘break (INTR), be broken’	<i>menyúla</i>	‘break off’
	<i>pitúha</i>	‘turn (INTR)’	<i>pitúla</i>	‘turn (TR)’
	<i>sivilúha</i>	‘be unraveled’	<i>sivilúla</i>	‘unravel’

The *-úl* (transitive) separative extension is much more productive than the *-úh* extension, though it is not nearly as productive as many of the other derivational extensions (such as the passive, applicative, and causative). Further, in verbs for which non-derived forms exist, the meaning of the *-ul* extension is always reversive. Thus in present-day Bena, it is only the transitive form *-ul* with a reversive meaning which is still productive. Examples of this productive suffix are given below:

(96)	<i>fiháma</i>	‘hide’	<i>fihamúla</i>	‘expose’
	<i>siíla</i>	‘bury’	<i>siilúla</i>	‘dig up’
	<i>tiíma</i>	‘roof’	<i>tiimúla</i>	‘remove a roof’
	<i>wopa</i>	‘tie’	<i>wopóla</i>	‘undress, untie’

### 5.3.7 Intensive (-ás)

Though the intensive extension has not been reconstructed for Proto-Bantu, similar constructions are found in other Bantu languages such as Ha (Harjula 2003), Kagulu (Petzell 2008), and Ngoni (Ngonyani 2003). As is implied by the name “intensive” the intensive extension is used to intensify a particular action. The intensive (-ás) is somewhat productive in Bena. Examples of the intensive are given below:

- |         |   |    |   |
|---------|---|----|---|
| (97) a. | <i>déénya</i><br>deeny-a<br>break-FV<br>'break' | b. | <i>deenyása</i><br>deeny-as-a<br>break-INTENS-FV<br>'shatter' |
| (98) a. | <i>dumulá</i><br>dumul-a<br>cut-FV<br>'cut'     | b. | <i>dumulása</i><br>dumul-as-a<br>cut-INTENS-FV<br>'chop up'   |
| (99) a. | <i>lola</i><br>lol-a<br>see-FV<br>'see'         | b. | <i>lolása</i><br>lol-as-a<br>see-INTENS-FV<br>'look around'   |

For some verbs, the intensive extension has a more associative meaning—"to do something together":

- |       |               |                |                 |                         |
|-------|---------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| (100) | <i>géénda</i> | 'walk'         | <i>geendása</i> | 'walk together'         |
|       | <i>védza</i>  | 'be'           | <i>vedzása</i>  | 'cooperate'             |
|       | <i>wuya</i>   | 'return home'  | <i>wuyása</i>   | 'return home together'  |
|       | <i>ova</i>    | 'climb aboard' | <i>ovása</i>    | 'climb aboard together' |

### 5.3.8 Impositive (-*ih*)

The impositive is homophonous with the stative (-*ih*/-*éh*) but has a different meaning. Impositive verbs are transitive (rather than intransitive as with the stative). With impositive verbs, the meaning is positional—something is put in a particular place or position. Formation of the impositive is illustrated below:

- (101) a. *vala*  
val-a  
shine-FV  
'shine'
- b. *valtha*  
val-ih-a  
shine-IMPOS-FV  
'rise (of the sun or moon)'
- (102) a. *ng'aala*  
ng'aal-a  
shine-FV  
'shine, reflect'
- b. *ng'aaltha*  
ng'aal-ih-a  
shine-IMPOS-FV  
'illuminate' (put something where it can reflect light)

The impositive is extremely unproductive, and impositive verbs are largely lexicalized.

There are a number of verbs in Bena which appear to be impositive forms, but for which non-impositive forms do not exist:

- (103) *dzaaliha* 'spread'      *kuntha* 'bend (TR)'  
*fyoombéha* 'hide'      *ogéha* 'transplant'  
*hudtha* 'tie'      *tuumbtha* 'hang'

### 5.3.9 Repetitive (-áng)

The repetitive extension *-áng* (*-ááng* on the surface due to compensatory lengthening, see 2.1.3.3) is used to indicate that an action is done repeatedly. It corresponds with Proto-Bantu *\*-ang* (Schadeburg 2003). The repetitive is very unproductive in Bena, and only three examples of it exist in the current database:

- (104) a. *bóónnda*  
bond-a  
pound-FV  
'pound'
- b. *bondááng*  
bond-ang-a  
pound-REP-FV  
'pound repeatedly'
- (105) a. *lima*  
lim-a  
farm-FV  
'farm'
- b. *limááng*  
lim-ang-a  
farm-REP-FV  
'farm repeatedly, plant all over the place in an unplanned manner'

- (106) a. *kinya*                      b. *kinyáánga*  
           *kiny-a*                      *kiny-ang-a*  
           knock-FV                  knock-REP-FV  
           ‘knock’                    ‘knock repeatedly’

### 5.3.10 Positional (-ám)

The positional extension in Bena is *-ám*. It corresponds with the Proto-Bantu positional extension *\*-am* (also referred to as “stative”) which typically means that something is or assumes a particular position (Schadeburg 2003). Positional verbs are always intransitive. In Bena, the positional suffix is completely unproductive, and (with one exception), corresponding non-positional verbs do not exist. Several examples of positional verbs are given below:

- (107) *dooyáma*    ‘crouch’                  *guundáma*    ‘bend over’  
           *fugáma*     ‘kneel’                    *sagáma*      ‘be/become straight’

There is one positional verb for which a non-derived form exists:

- (108) *fiha*                    ‘hide’                  *fiháma*        ‘hide’

When asked, speakers indicate that both *fiha* and *fiháma* mean exactly the same thing (‘hide’). The positional form *fiháma* is more common, though this may be due to the fact that *fiha* ‘hide’ is homophonous with *fiha* ‘arrive’.

### 5.3.11 Extensive (-ál)

The extensive suffix (*-ál*) derives from Proto-Bantu *\*-al*. The meaning of the extensive suffix is fairly difficult to pin down, though Schadeburg (2003:77) notes that the extensive commonly has meanings related to being “in a spread out position” or “ill

and suffering”. In Bena, a number of extensive verbs seem to have some sort of stative meaning, though this cannot be generalized across all of them. The extensive suffix in Bena is unproductive. All extensive verbs in Bena are intransitive. There are several verbs for which an extensive form and a non-derived form exist, though consultants indicate that the meaning of the two verbs is exactly the same:

- (109) *fulúga* ‘be tired, pregnant’      *fulugála* ‘be tired, pregnant’  
          *siga* ‘remain’                              *sigála* ‘remain’  
          *saha* ‘be worn out’                      *sahála* ‘be worn out’

There are also a number of extensive verbs in Bena which do not have an underived counterpart, but for which it is possible to tell that they contain an extensive suffix by comparison with other verbs or adjectives:

- (110) *gangamála* ‘be dried up’      *-gangamáfu* ‘be dried up (ADJ)’      *ligáánga* ‘stone’  
          *huvuvála* ‘be sad’                      *-hugúvafu* ‘be sad (ADJ)’  
          *fuuhála* ‘be poor’                      *fuuhíla* ‘be hot, sweat’  
          *lemála* ‘be hurt’                      *lemádza* ‘hurt (TR)’

Other Bena verbs end in *-ál*, though because the extensive suffix does not have a clearly defined meaning, it can be difficult to tell whether or not these verbs are extensive without other forms to compare them to. Several examples of possible extensive verbs are given below:

- (111) *aambála* ‘touch’                      *gololopála* ‘be old’  
          *bibiindála* ‘curve (V)’                      *ikála* ‘sit, live’  
          *dzobalála* ‘be soaked’                      *kuuvála* ‘stumble’  
          *fuvála* ‘be late’                      *lemála* ‘get hurt’



### 5.3.12 Tentive (-át)

The tentative extension (-át) is another completely unproductive extension in Bena. It corresponds with Proto-Bantu \*-at which typically carries the meaning of “actively making firm contact” (Schadeburg 2003:77). Three verbs in Bena seem to have this extension (though all three are completely lexicalized and do not have non-tentive counterparts):

- (112) *fuumbáta* ‘grasp’  
*ibáta* ‘hold, catch’  
*pagáta* ‘hold on one’s lap’

### 5.3.13 Combinations of verbal extensions

Bena verbs may contain multiple derivational suffixes. A single verb can contain up to three extensions, though a single extension is most common and three suffixes on one verb is rare. Unproductive extensions (such as positional and tentative) occur closest to the root; extensions that are more productive occur further from the root, with the passive (the most productive extension) occurring last. Argument structure is determined by the final extension. The following table summarizes the order used when multiple derivational extensions occur on a single verb (extensions listed together in a single column never co-occur on one verb):

Extensive Impositive Postional Tentive	Separative	Applicative Stative	Causative Intensive Reciprocal	Passive
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Table 5.50 Order of Bena derivational extensions

(113) through (116) are examples of combinations of two or three verbal extensions:

- |         |   |    |  |                                |
|---------|---|----|--|--------------------------------|
| (113)a. | <i>gona</i><br>gon-a<br>sleep-FV<br>'sleep'         | b. | <i>gonelédza</i><br>gon-il-idz-a<br>sleep-APPL-CAUS-FV<br>'make someone sleep'                           | Applicative+Causative          |
| (114)a. | <i>iimba</i><br>imb-a<br>read-FV<br>'read'          | b. | <i>iimbílwa</i><br>imb-il-w-a<br>read-APPL-PASS-FV<br>'be read to'                                       | Applicative +Passive           |
| (115)a. | <i>keela</i><br>keel-a<br>be.happy-FV<br>'be happy' | b. | <i>keelédzwa</i><br>keel-idz-w-a<br>be.happy-CAUS-PASS-FV<br>'be pleased'                                | Causative+Passive              |
| (116)a. | <i>diinda</i><br>dind-a<br>close-FV<br>'close'      | b. | <i>dindulíwa</i><br>dind-ul-il-w-a<br>close-SEP-APPL-PASS-FV<br>'to be opened by/with someone/something' | Separative+Applicative+Passive |

#### 5.3.14 Reduplication

The final strategy which Bena employs to derive one verb from another is reduplication. There are two types of reduplication: full reduplication of the entire verbal stem, and partial reduplication of the initial CV sequence of the verbal stem. Full reduplication is productive; partial reduplication is not.

Full reduplication reduplicates the entire verb stem (including the final vowel). The second portion of the reduplicated form bears tone. For some verbs, the reduplicated form intensifies the meaning of the original verb; for others, the meaning is pluractional (Newman 1980). For these verbs the action is repetitive or is done a number of times in different places. Examples of full reduplication are given below:

(117)	<i>déénya</i>	‘break’	<i>denyadéénya</i>	‘shatter’
	<i>dzúúmba</i>	‘jump’	<i>dzumbadzuúmba</i>	‘jump around’
	<i>géénda</i>	‘walk’	<i>gendagéénda</i>	‘wander around’
	<i>hésa</i>	‘make laugh’	<i>hesahésa</i>	‘make laugh (a lot or frequently)’
	<i>lóónga</i>	‘talk’	<i>longalóónga</i>	‘ramble’
	<i>méla</i>	‘grow’	<i>melaméla</i>	‘grow all around’

Full reduplication is extremely productive. Even borrowings can be reduplicated. Thus, for example, the verb *fwáta* ‘follow, search’ (borrowed from Swahili *fuata* ‘follow’) can be reduplicated to *fwatafwáta* ‘search hard for’.

The second type of reduplication is partial reduplication, where the initial CV of the verbal stems serves as the reduplicant. Tone does not shift. For this strategy, it is difficult to tell the meaning of the reduplication, as few examples of both reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms exist in the database, and because in two of the cases, consultants indicate that the meanings of the reduplicated and non-reduplicated forms are identical. All of the partially reduplicated forms in the current database are given below:

(118)	<i>baandúla</i>	‘peel’	<i>babaandúla</i>	‘peel’
	<i>dzúma</i>	‘be surprised’	<i>dzudzúma</i>	‘complain’
	<i>gwééta</i>	‘cluck’	<i>gwegwééta</i>	‘cluck’
	<i>lóóta</i>	‘dream’	<i>lolóóta</i>	‘talk in one’s sleep’
	<i>ng’úúla</i>	‘cry, howl’	<i>ng’ung’úúla</i>	‘hum, be sad’
	<i>yéésa</i>	‘discredit someone’	<i>yeyéésa</i>	‘shame someone’

In addition to the verbs presented in (118), there are a number of verbs which have the form CVCVC where the first two CV sequences are the same, but for which non-reduplicated forms do not exist in the current database. For these verbs, it is unclear whether or not they arose historically through reduplication. Examples of these suspected partially reduplicated verbs are given in (119):

(119)	<i>bibiindála</i>	‘curve’	<i>lalatúla</i>	‘pull apart’
	<i>bobóma</i>	‘flow’	<i>leletúla</i>	‘tear’
	<i>dadáámba</i>	‘tense’	<i>ng’ang’aníla</i>	‘quarrel over’
	<i>dadáámba</i>	‘take large steps’	<i>ng’en’gelyúha</i>	‘drone’
	<i>dedelédza</i>	‘pamper’	<i>ng’ong’onála</i>	‘freeze (TR)’
	<i>dzedzeelúha</i>	‘spark’	<i>pupulyúúha</i>	‘flap wings’
	<i>gogódola</i>	‘scrape’	<i>vevelyúúha</i>	‘stagger’
	<i>gogolyóóha</i>	‘crow (of roosters)’		

#### 5.4 Summary

This chapter has discussed both inflectional and derivational verbal morphology. I began with a discussion of Bena verb structure and I showed that, like other Bantu languages, Bena verbs exhibit a hierarchical structure. This was followed by a discussion of Bena inflectional morphology. This portion of the grammar addressed infinitival forms, subject and object markers, tense, aspect, mood, negation, and subject relativization. Following this was a discussion of the fourteen verbal (derivational) extensions found in Bena. The final section of this chapter discussed reduplication. This chapter concludes the portion of the grammar devoted to inflecting word classes. Uninflecting classes (adverbs and other invariable words) are described in the next chapter.

RICE UNIVERSITY

**A Reference Grammar of Bena**

by

**Michelle Elizabeth Morrison**

VOLUME II

## **Chapter 6**

### **Adverbs and other invariables**

The two previous chapters have discussed classes of inflecting words in Bena—nouns and nominal modifiers (adjectives, demonstratives, inflected interrogatives, and quantifiers) and verbs. There are a number of classes of words that do not inflect—these include adverbs, conjunctions, uninflected interrogatives, and interjections. These uninflecting words are sometimes also referred to as “invariables” (Maganga and Schadeburg 1992, Harjula 2003). This chapter discusses each of these classes in more detail—the ways in which these classes are defined and the functions of words belonging to each class.

#### **6.1 Adverbs**

Adverbs in Bena can largely be divided into two groups: temporal, locative, and manner adverbs. Temporal adverbs provide information about the temporal setting of a clause. Temporal adverbs are exemplified in Table 6.:

ADVERB	GLOSS	ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>haangi</i>	‘again’	<i>paambéle</i>	‘later’
<i>hávili</i>	‘twice’	<i>dzuúdzi</i>	‘the day before yesterday’
<i>hádatu</i>	‘three times’	<i>igólo</i>	‘yesterday’
<i>lino</i>	‘now’	<i>néng’uni, nénguli</i>	‘today’
<i>lilínolino</i>	‘just now’	<i>hiláwo</i>	‘tomorrow’
<i>taa, taandi</i>	‘first’	<i>póónnda</i>	‘every day’
<i>pele</i>	‘still’	<i>nehe</i>	‘then’

Table 6.1 Examples of temporal adverbs

As can be seen in Table 6., there is no morphological pattern shared by all adverbs. Some observations are possible, however, about the formation of some individual adverbs. The adverb *haangi* ‘again’ is formed by prefixing the root *-ngi* ‘other’ with the Class 12 prefix *ha-*. Class 12 is usually reserved for diminutive formation; however when a stem is prefixed with *ha-* it can be used as a temporal adverb. Numerals can also take the *ha-* prefix. Therefore, for example, *hávili* (containing the stem *-vili* ‘two’) means ‘twice’ and *hádatu* (from *-datu* ‘three’) means ‘three times’. This is illustrated in (1) and (2) :

- (1) *Tíge* ‘*umwáána*’ *hádatu*.  
 tig-e u-mu-ana ha-datu  
 say-FV AUG.1-CL1-child CL12-three  
 ‘Say ‘child’ three times.’

- (2) *Dzisihwáádza* *húhola* *haangi*, *kaa*.  
 dzi-si-hu-adz-a hu-hol-a ha-ngi kaa  
 CL10-NEG-E-come-FV CL15-scratch CL12-other no  
 ‘They can’t come to scratch (the seeds up) again, no.’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 051)

The adverb *póonda* ‘every day’ is formed from the stem *-onda* ‘all’ prefixed with the Class 16 prefix *pa-*.

- (3) *Ndíhwa*            *nindzála*            ***poonda.***  
 ndi-hw-a            na=i-N-yala            pa-onda  
 1SG-remain-FV    and=AUG.9-CL9-hunger    CL16-all  
 ‘I remain hungry every day.’

(08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*, line 077)

Most Bena temporal adverbs operate at the clausal level. They occur either clause-initially or clause-finally and provide information about when the action described by the clause takes place.

- (4) *Atíge,*            “*Unééne*            *ndili*            *muvína*            *sána*            ***néng’uni.***”  
 a-tig-e            u-neene            ndi-li            mu-vina            sana            néng’uni  
 CL1-say-FV    AUG.1-1SG.PRO    1SG-COP    CL1-big            very            today  
 ‘He said, “I’m very important today.”’

(08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3*, line 049)

- (5) ***Paambéle*** *vitaang’anága*            *useengéle.*  
 pambele    va-i-taang’-an-ag-a            u-seengéle  
 later            CL2-PRES-meet-RECIP-NARR-FV    AUG.1-zebra  
 ‘Later they met up with a zebra.’

(08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 040)

The adverb *nehe* ‘then’ always occurs clause-initially. It is particularly common in stories, providing information about the sequencing of events. Use of *nehe* is illustrated by the following series of clauses taken from a single folk tale:



- (6) a. *Ing'wáále*                      *yíípya*                      *kabisa*.  
          i-N-kwáále                      yi-i-py-a                      kabisa  
          AUG.9-CL9-pheasant CL9-PRES-burn-FV completely  
          'The pheasant burned up completely'
- b. *Nehe* *ísude*                      *yitegulága*                      *ihídzege*                      *hya*                      *ng'wáále*.  
          nehe i-sude                      yi-tegul-ag-a                      i-hi-dzege                      hya                      N-kwáále  
          then AUG.9-hare CL9-take-NARR-FV AUG.7-CL7-bone ASSOC.7 CL9-pheasant  
          'Then the hare took a bone from the pheasant.'
- c. *Nehe* *yiwuyapága*                      *ifilíimbi*                      *ya*                      *hútova*.  
          nehe yi-wuyap-ag-a                      i-filimbi                      ya                      hu-tov-a  
          then CL9-carve-NARR-FV AUG.9-whistle ASSOC.9 CL15-hit-FV  
          'Then he carved a whistle for playing.' (a musical instrument)
- d. *Nehe* *yiimbága*                      *ulwíimbo*.  
          nehe yi-i-imb-ag-a                      u-lu-imbo  
          then CL9-PRES-sing-NARR-FV AUG.11-CL11-song  
          'Then he sang a song.'

(08Sept11e, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 2*, lines 019-022)

The adverb *pele* 'still' modifies the verb phrase, rather than the entire clause. It always occurs immediately pre-verbally, as in (7) and (8):

- (7) *Umutúúmbwi*                      ***pele*** *gweendeléla*                      *uhugéénda*.  
          u-mu-tumbwi                      pele gu-endelel-a                      u-hu-gend-a  
          AUG.3-CL3-boat still CL3-continue-FV AUG.15-CL15-walk-FV  
          'The boat still continued to go.'
- (8) *Kaka!* *Indzála*                      ***pele*** *yívava*,                      ***pele*** *yívava*.  
          kaka i-N-yala                      pele yi-vav-a                      pele yi-vav-a  
          ha AUG.9-CL9-hunger still CL9-ache-FV still CL9-ache-FV  
          'Ha! The hunger still ached, it still ached.' ('He was still hungry.')

(08Oct06c, *Swamp Girl*, line 048)

(08Oct06c, *Swamp Girl*, line 048)

*Haangi* 'again' modifies verbs. It occurs immediately post-verbally, as in (9) and (10):

- (9) *Pe ndiwidziídze, ndidziindila haangi fiméle.*  
 pe ndi-widz-ile ndi-dzind-il-a hangi fi-mel-e  
 when 1SG-redo-FV 1SG-wait-APPL-FV again CL8-grow-FV  
 ‘When I have redone (the fields) I wait again for them (the crops) to grow.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 039)
- (10) *Vivaangága haangi uhúliya ing’iing’i dzila.*  
 va-i-vang-ag-a hangi u-hu-liy-a i-ng’iing’i dzila  
 CL2-PRES-begin-NARR- again AUG.15-CL15- AUG.10-tuber DIST.DEM.10  
 FV eat-FV  
 ‘They began again to eat those tubers.’  
 (08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 018)

Bena uses several strategies to provide information about where the action described by a clause takes place. First, the notions of “here” and “there” can be expressed using Class 16, 17, and 18 demonstratives. (11) and (12) illustrate use of these demonstratives (see 4.2.3 for a discussion of demonstratives).

- (11) *Pe ndimálile ápo, tivííha munyúúmba.*  
 pe ndi-mal-ile ápo ti-viih-a mu-nyumba  
 REL.16 1SG-finish-FV MED.DEM.16 1PL-put-FV CL.18-house  
 ‘When we have finished here, we put (it) in the house.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 126)
- (12) *Lino, híngodofu hila hidzigága pála.*  
 lino hi-ngodofu hila hi-dzig-ag-a pála  
 now CL7-frog DIST.DEM.7 CL7-remain-NARR-FV DIST.DEM.16  
 ‘Now that frog remained there.’  
 (08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM*, line 106)

There is a set of locative adverbs that is formed by adding a prefix *ba-* to one of the locative demonstratives. Consultants indicated that these adverbs indicated increased precision of reference (‘right here/there’). All of the adverbs of this type which are found in the corpus are listed in Table 6.2:

ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>bahápa</i>	‘right here’
<i>báho</i>	‘right there (already mentioned)’
<i>bahála</i>	‘right there’
<i>báha</i>	‘right here’
<i>bahobáho</i>	‘right there’

Table 6.2 Locative adverbs formed with the prefix *ba-*

Several examples of the *ba-* locative adverbs are given in (13) through (18):

- (13) *Báho huna mulyáángo.*  
 baho huna mu-lyango  
 there there.is CL3-door  
 ‘Right there is a door.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 096)
- (14) *Líno ndisúúpa, ndili paNjombe báha.*  
 lino ndi-suup-a ndi-li pa-Njombe báha  
 now 1SG-rest-FV 1SG-COP CL16-Njombe here  
 ‘Now I am resting in Njombe, right here.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 096)
- (15) *Bahála pawusága báho, húno huli hihi?*  
 bahála pa-wu-saga báho húno hu-li hihi  
 there CL16-CL14-bed there there CL17-COP what  
 ‘Right there, on the bed right there, what’s there?’  
 (08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM*, line 163)

There are three additional locative adverbs found in the corpus which are not related to demonstratives. These are listed in Table 6.3:

ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>húno</i>	‘here’
<i>bíhi</i>	‘near’
<i>píihi</i>	‘near’

Table 6.3 Other locative adverbs

(16) and (17) exemplify use of these locative adverbs:

- (16) *Usuungúla atégwe uwugáli avíihile húno.*  
 u-sungula a-tegul-ile u-wu-gali a-viih-ile húno  
 AUG.1-hare CL1-take-FV AUG.14-CL14-porridge CL1-put-FV here  
 ‘The hare took the porridge, he put it here.’  
 (08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*, line 019)
- (17) *Nágo haangi guli bíhi nahángodofu hála hadóódo.*  
 nágo hangi gu-li bíhi na=a-ha-ngodofu hála ha-dóódo  
 and.20 again CL20-COP near and=AUG.12-CL12-frog DIST.DEM.12 CL12-small  
 ‘And again it (the big frog) was near that small frog.’  
 (08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM*, line 104)

The final major group of adverbs describes the manner in which an action takes place. Examples of manner adverbs are listed in Table 6.4:

ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>ng'ááni</i>	‘quickly’
<i>ng'aníng'aani</i>	‘very quickly’
<i>molámola, molímoli, mulámula</i>	‘slowly’
<i>wiláwila</i>	‘continuously’
<i>ngwílili</i>	‘quickly’

Table 6.4 Examples of manner adverbs

As can be seen in the above table, adverbs can be formed through reduplication.

*Ng'aning'aani* ‘very quickly’ reduplicates the adverb *ng'ááni* ‘quickly’. The reduplication intensifies the meaning of the adverb. *Wiláwila* ‘continuously’ is reduplicated from the verbal stem *wíila* ‘return’. The source of *molámola* ‘slowly’ is unclear.

Manner adverbs typically modify verbs. They occur immediately following the verb which they modify, as in the following examples:

- (18) *Iligóbe*                      *livaangága*                      *uhúhega*                      *molámola.*  
 i-li-gobe                      li-vang-ag-a                      u-hu-heg-a                      molámola  
 AUG.5-CL5-turtle   CL5-begin-NARR-FV   AUG.15-CL15-depart-FV   slowly  
 ‘The turtle began to leave slowly.’  
 (08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM*, line 063)
- (19) a. *Íhyo, pe*                      *ukodzíídze*                      *umóoto, ilyóósi*                      *lihweelúha huhyáánya.*  
 ihyo    pe                      u-kodz-ile                      u-mu-oto    i-li-osi                      li-hu-eluh-a    hu-hyaanya  
 MED.   REL. 16   2SG-light-FV   AUG.3-                      AUG.5-                      CL5-E-                      CL17-top  
 DEM.7    CL3-fire                      CL5-smoke    climb-FV  
 ‘This (proverb says), when you light a fire, the smoke climbs up.’
- b. *Íhyo*                      *hihweelúha*                      *ngwílili.*  
 ihyo                      hi-hu-eluh-a                      ngwílili  
 MED.DEM.7   CL7-E-climb-FV                      quickly  
 ‘This climbs quickly.’  
 (08Oct06a, *Bena Riddles*, line 018-019)

There are several miscellaneous adverbs in Bena that do not fit into the temporal or manner categories. These are summarized in Table 6.5:

ADVERB	GLOSS
<i>deena, de</i>	‘thus’
<i>hela</i>	‘simply’
<i>híilo</i>	‘very’

Table 6.5 Other adverbs

The adverb *deena* (or its shortened form *de*) modifies an entire clause. It is often used to introduce a story, as in

- (20) a. *Ulúsimo*                      *úlu*                      *lwitígila*                      *deena:*  
 u-lu-simo                      úlu                      lu-i-tig-il-a                      deena  
 AUG.11-CL11-story   PROX.DEM.11   CL11-PRES-say-APPL   thus  
 ‘This story says thus:’

- b. *Paali paana bíibi yumwínga.*  
 pa-aa-li paa-na biibi yu-mwinga  
 CL16-P4-COP CL16-have grandmother CL1-one  
 ‘There once was a grandmother.’

(08Oct31a, *Don't Eat the Tubers*, line 001-002)

*Hela* ‘just, simply’ modifies verbs and occurs immediately after the verb which it modifies, as in (21):

- (21) *Itigilága, “Ha! Ndihiitaaníla hela.”*  
 i-tig-il-ag-a ha ndi-hi-taan-il-a hela  
 CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV ha 1SG-P2-joke-APPL-FV just  
 ‘He said, “Ha! I was just joking!”’

(08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3*, line 077)

The adverb *híilo* ‘very’ is the most versatile of the adverbs. It can modify verbs (22), quantifiers (23), and adjectives (24):

- (22) *Na vahuguvalága híilo huliho myááha gya néng’uni.*  
 na va-huguval-ag-a híilo huliho mi-aha gya néng’uni  
 and CL2-be.sad-NARR-FV very than CL4-year ASSOC.4 today  
 ‘And they were sadder than (in) the years of today.’

(08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 013)

- (23) *Tili wólofu híilo huliho pahátaali.*  
 ti-li va-olofu híilo huliho pa-hátaali  
 1PL-COP CL2-many very than CL16-long.ago  
 ‘There are very many of us, (more) than long ago.’

(08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 070)

- (24) *Amalimo ge aapatíle gali malimo mánofu híilo.*  
 a-ma-lino ge aa-pat-ile ga-li ma-limo ma-nofu hiilo  
 AUG.6-CL6-work REL.6 P4-obtain-FV CL6-COP CL6-work CL6-good very  
 ‘The work which he got was very good work.’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 012)

It is also possible for *híilo* ‘very’ to have the interpretation ‘frequently’:

- (25) *Lino haangi lubádilihe, tiifwa híflo.*  
 lino haangi lu-badilih-e ti-i-fw-a híflo  
 now again CL11-change-FV CL1-PRES-die-FV very  
 ‘Now again it has changed, we die all the time.’  
 (08Nvo17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 059)

## 6.2 Conjunctions

Conjunctions in Bena are invariable particles. They are used to link words, phrases, or clauses. Bena conjunctions are exemplified in Table 6.6:

CONJUNCTION	GLOSS	CONJUNCTION	GLOSS
<i>na</i>	‘and’	<i>pahúva</i>	‘because’
<i>naambi</i>	‘or’	<i>lino</i> <sup>1</sup>	‘but’
<i>ngíta</i>	‘like’	<i>nde</i>	‘if’

Table 6.6 Examples of Bena conjunctions

Several examples of Bena conjunctions are given below:

- (26) *Nde wikaána ndihúlya.*  
 nde u-i-kaan-a ndi-hu-ly-a  
 if 2SG-PRES-refuse-FV 2SG-CL15-eat-FV  
 ‘If you refuse, I’ll eat you.’  
 (08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 028)
- (27) *Silíkina pahúva lina mídela.*  
 si-li-kin-a pahúva li-na mi-dela  
 NEG-CL5-play-FV because CL5-have CL4-root  
 ‘It does not dance because it has roots.’  
 (08Oct06a, *Riddles*, line 043)

<sup>1</sup> *Lino* is an adverb meaning ‘now’; when used to link clauses it has the meaning ‘but’. See 7.2.1.3.

- (28) *Líno, sitiwúúnga ngíta hye taawuungága pamútaló.*  
 lino si-ti-wung-a ntíta hye ti-aa-wung-ag-a pa-mútaló  
 now NEG-1PL-teach-FV like REL.7 1PL-P4-teach-NARR-FV CL16-long.ago  
 ‘Now we do not teach like we taught a long time ago.’  
 (08Oct02a, LN’s Life Story, line 021)

Most conjunctions are invariant particles that function independently as words. The exception to this is *na* ‘and, with’ which cliticizes to the following word when that word is a noun or adjective. *Na* does not cliticize to verbs (except for verbal infinitives which are Class 15 nouns). Example (29) shows use of *na* as a clitic; in (30) *na* functions as an independent word:

- (29) *Íyo ng’uhu namákaang’a.*  
 iyo ng’uhu na=ma-kaang’a  
 DEM.MED.9 chicken and=CL6-egg  
 ‘That one (riddle) is a chicken and eggs.’  
 (08Oct06a, Riddles, line 013)
- (30) “*Ve, Ng’wáále, uheléle ufiháme, na yúúne ndinyaanyága umóoto.*”  
 ve N-kwaale u-helel-e u-fiham-e na yuune ndi-nyaany-ag-a u-mu-oto  
 2SG. CL9- 2SG-go- 2SG-hide- and 1SG.PRO 1SG-light-NARR- AUG.3-CL3-  
 PRO pheasant FV FV FV fire  
 ‘You, Pheasant, go hide and I’ll light the fire.’  
 (08Sept11e, The Hare and the Pheasant, Version 2, line 015)

The syntactic function of conjunctions is described in 7.2.

### 6.3 Uninflected interrogatives

Most interrogatives in Bena are uninflected. (There are two exceptions to this: the interrogatives *-hi* ‘which’ and *-linga* ‘how many’; these were discussed in 4.2.6.6.)

Uninflected interrogatives are summarized in Table 6.7:



QUESTION WORD	GLOSS
<i>nááni</i>	‘who?’
<i>híhi</i>	‘what?’
<i>ndáli</i>	‘when?’
<i>paníli</i>	‘when?’
<i>hwííya/hwíí</i>	‘where?’
<i>wulíwuli/wúli</i>	‘how?’

Table 6.7 Uninflected interrogatives

Unlike inflected interrogatives (which inflect for noun class) uninflected interrogatives take the same morphological form regardless of the noun class of the questioned NP. Inflected and uninflected interrogatives also display some syntactic differences. Inflected interrogatives behave more like adjectives and they follow the noun which they question. In contrast, uninflected interrogatives substitute for noun or verb phrases or clauses.

Some examples of uninflected interrogatives are shown below:

- (31) *Íng’iing’i, dzihéle hwííya?*  
 i-ng’iing’i dzi-hel-e hwííya  
 AUG.10-tuber CL10-go-FV where  
 ‘The tubers, where did they go?’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 007)

- (32) *Usuungúla iwuudzága, “Ve, mwáána, hyahúliya hya nááni íhi?”*  
 u-sungula i-wuudz-ag-a ve mu-ana hi-ahuliya hya nááni íhi  
 AUG.1-hare CL1-ask- 2SG. CL1-child CL7-food ASSOC.7 who PROX.  
 NARR-FV PRO DEM.7  
 ‘The hare asked, “You child, whose food is this?”’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 007)

The syntax of Bena questions is discussed in 7.1.7, where I also give more detail about the differences between inflected and uninflected interrogatives.

## 6.4 Interjections

There are a number of interjections in Bena. These are used to express agreement, disagreement, or surprise. Interjections are also used as backchannel responses. All of the interjections which are found in the corpus are listed in Table 6.8:<sup>2</sup>

INTERJECTION	GLOSS
<i>ee!</i>	‘yes’
<i>eena!</i>	‘yes’
<i>ndaa!</i>	‘no’
<i>swela</i>	‘well, alas’
<i>aa, ahaa</i>	‘backchannel response’
<i>kwaa!</i>	‘expression of surprise’
<i>ha!</i>	‘expression of surprise’
<i>kaka!</i>	‘expression of surprise’
<i>ange</i>	‘expression of surprise’

Table 6.8 Examples of interjections

Bena interjections usually occur either utterance-initially or utterance-finally. Some examples of interjections are given in (33) and (34):

- (33) a. *Vitigilága*                      *avééne,*                      “*Dzisílile.*”  
           *va-i-tig-il-ag-a*                      *a-veene*                      *dzi-sil-ile*  
           CL2-PRES-say-APPL-NARR-FV    AUG.2-CL2.PRO    CL10-finish-FV  
           ‘They said, “They’re gone.”’

- b. “*Ha?! Pahúva híhi?*”  
       *ha*        *pahúva*    *hihi*  
       excl    because    what  
       “Ha?! Why? (because of what?)”

(08Oct31a, *Don't Eat the Tubers*, lines 030-031)

<sup>2</sup> This should not be taken to be an exhaustive list of Bena interjections, as presumably there are numerous other conjunctions which are not found in the corpus.

- (34) a. “*Líno, uli tayáli?*”  
 lino u-li tayari  
 now 2SG-COP ready  
 ‘Now, are you ready?’
- b. Adza atíge, “*Ee, ndili tayáli.*”  
 adza a-tig-e ee ndi-li tayali  
 AUX CL1-say-FV yes 1SG-COP ready  
 ‘She will respond, “Yes, I’m ready.”’

(08Nov17c, *Bena Weddings*, lines 090-091)

When used to express surprise, Bena interjections are usually pronounced with rising intonation. When expressing agreement or when used as backchannel responses, *ee* is usually pronounced with falling intonation. As backchannel responses *ahaa* and *aa* usually have rising intonation. *Ee*, *ahaa*, and *aa* are often accompanied by head nodding. The speaker nods from down to up, often with raised eyebrows. The expressions of surprise *kaka!* and *ha!* are often pronounced with breathy voice. Interjections containing long vowels (*ee* ‘yes’, *eena* ‘yes’, *ndaa* ‘no’, *aa* ‘backchannel’ *ahaa* ‘backchannel’, and *kwaa* ‘expression of surprise’) are usually pronounced with extra long vowels.

## 6.5 Ideophones

Bena has a class of ideophones. Such words use vivid sound to represent an idea (Crystal 1997, Trask 1993). Bodomo (2006) notes that in African languages ideophones typically form a separate word class and usually describe intensity or repetitive action. A systematic study of ideophones has not been conducted for Bena, however a number of them exist in the corpus. All serve as intensifiers or express repeated action. All of the ideophones which exist in the corpus are summarized in Table 6.9.

IDEOPHONE	GLOSS
<i>ng'aani</i>	'completely'
<i>tii</i>	'very (black)'
<i>pafu</i>	'very (red)'
<i>twaa</i>	'a lot'
<i>tipu</i>	'completely (gone)'
<i>swe</i>	'intensifier'
<i>kikikiki</i>	'hurriedly'
<i>gigigigi</i>	'hurriedly'
<i>kukukulu</i>	'fighting sound'

Table 6.9 Ideophones

Some ideophones are associated with certain words in Bena. For example, *tii* only modifies *níitu* 'black' and *pafu* modifies *dung'u* 'red'. Therefore *niitu* is 'black' and *niitu tii* is 'very black' and *dung'u* translates as 'red' while *dung'u pafu* is 'very red'. The ideophone *tipu* always occurs after the quantifier *-onda* 'all' and is used within the context of something being completely gone (as a result of being burned up or eaten, for example). Ideophones containing long vowels are pronounced with extra length, and usually have extra low tone. Bena ideophones that express repeated action are all formed by a series of repetitions of a short syllable. Several examples of Bena ideophones, taken from the corpus, are given below:

- (35) a. *Sihoodzili*      *inyálafu*      *iníítu*.  
           si-hoodzili      i-N-yalafu      i-niitu  
           NEG-EXIST.10    AUG.10-CL10-red.ant    AUG.10-black  
           'There are no black red ants.'<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> *Inyálafu* is a word that refers to red ants only. Therefore the speaker is saying that is impossible to have black *inyálafu* because *inyálafu* must be red.

b. *Dzóónda dung'u ng'aani.*

dz-onda dung'u ng'aani

CL10-all red INTENS

'All (every single last one of them) are red.'

(08Oct06a, *Bena Riddles*, lines 060-061)

- (36) *Ilamuhága, atige, "Aa, ngamusungúla, una lúdali, swe."*  
 i-lamuh-ag-a a-tig-e aa ngamu-sungúla u-na lu-dali swe  
 CL1-wake.up- CL1-say-FV aah clever-hare 2SG-have CL11-strength INTENS  
 NARR-FV

'He (the lion) woke up (and) said, "Ahh, clever hare, you are extremely strong.'

(08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 034)

- (37) *Umwáána gigigigi isiindihága huvagééndzi.*  
 u-mu-ana gigigigi i-sindih-ag-a hu-va-gendzi  
 AUG.1-CL1-child hurriedly CL1-take-NARR-FV CL17-CL2-guest

'The child hurriedly took (the food) to the guests.'

(08Sept 01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*, line 073)

(38)

- (39) *Gípya mabihi gála góónda tipu.*  
 ga-i-py-a ma-bihi gála ga-onda tipu  
 CL6-PRES-burn-FV CL6-tree DIST.DEM.6 CL6-all completely

'It (the fire) burned all those trees completely.'

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 013)

## 6.6 Summary

This chapter has discussed a number of word classes in Bena: adverbs, conjunctions, uninflected interrogatives, interjections, and ideophones. Unlike word classes discussed in previous chapters (nouns, adjectives, demonstratives, and quantifiers) words belonging to these classes do not inflect. Therefore they are commonly grouped together as "invariables". I have discussed the behavior of words belonging to each class, criteria for class membership, and morphological and phonological characteristics (if there are any). This chapter concludes the discussion of the structure and behavior of individual words; the next chapter discusses aspects of Bena syntax.

## Chapter 7

### Syntax

This chapter discusses major aspects of Bena syntax. The first portion of the chapter covers basic clause structure with particular focus on the properties of Bena subjects and objects. Following this is a discussion of verbal valence and valence-changing operations. I then describe other types of simple clauses: copular clauses, existentials, imperatives, and question formation. The next section describes complex clauses—coordination, adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and relative clauses. The last portion of the chapter discusses variations in canonical word order and focus.

#### 7.1 Basic clause structure

##### 7.1.1 Basic word order

Basic word order in Bena is SVO, where S represents the subject, V is the verb, and O is the object. Intransitive sentences have the order SV. Examples of a basic transitive sentence and an intransitive sentence are given below:

- |     |    |                                 |                  |                |                |
|-----|----|---------------------------------|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| (1) | a. | S                               | V                | O              | (Transitive)   |
|     |    | <i>Umwáána</i>                  | <i>íitova</i>    | <i>ilibwa.</i> |                |
|     |    | u-mu-ana                        | a-i-tov-a        | i-li-bwa       |                |
|     |    | AUG.1-CL1-child                 | CL1-PRES-hit-FV  | AUG.5-CL5-dog  |                |
|     |    | ‘The child is hitting the dog.’ |                  |                |                |
|     | b. | S                               | V                |                | (Intransitive) |
|     |    | <i>Umwáána</i>                  | <i>igéénda.</i>  |                |                |
|     |    | u-mu-ana                        | a-i-génd-a       |                |                |
|     |    | AUG.1-CL1-child                 | CL1-PRES-walk-FV |                |                |
|     |    | ‘The child is walking.’         |                  |                |                |

It is also possible to have constructions that contain two post-verbal objects (double object constructions). These are exemplified by (2) and discussed in 7.1.2.2.2 below:

- |     |                                    |                         |                 |                    |
|-----|------------------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|
| (2) | S                                  | V                       | O <sub>1</sub>  | O <sub>2</sub>     |
|     | <i>Umwayúúva</i>                   | <i>avalisiídze</i>      | <i>aváána</i>   | <i>ihyahúliya.</i> |
|     | u-mu-ayúúva                        | a-va-liy-i-ile          | a-va-na         | i-hi-ahúliya       |
|     | AUG.1-CL1-woman                    | CL1-CL2.OBJ-eat-CAUS-FV | AUG.2-CL2-child | AUG.7-CL7-food     |
|     | ‘The woman fed the children food.’ |                         |                 |                    |

Word order in Bena is not completely strict; constituents may be fronted in focus constructions, as in (3):

- |     |                                       |                 |                 |
|-----|---------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| (3) | O                                     | S               | V               |
|     | <i>Ilibwa,</i>                        | <i>umwáána</i>  | <i>íitova.</i>  |
|     | i-li-bwa                              | u-mu-ana        | a-i-tov-a       |
|     | AUG.5-CL5-dog                         | AUG.1-CL1-child | CL1-PRES-hit-FV |
|     | ‘The dog, the child is hitting (it).’ |                 |                 |

Focus constructions are discussed in 7.2.6.

Typologically, the ordering of other elements correlates well with that predicted by Greenberg (1966) and Lehmann (1973, 1978) for VO languages. As predicted, nouns precede modifiers such as adjectives, demonstratives, quantifiers, possessive pronouns, relative clauses, and the associative construction (see 4.2) Auxiliaries and negatives precede verbs (Chapter 5).

### 7.1.2 Argument structure

Bena has two types of arguments: subjects and objects. Objects can be further divided into two sub-types: primary objects and secondary objects. Verbs may be

intransitive, transitive, or ditransitive. Verbs may change their argument structure using a series of derivational extensions<sup>1</sup> which may be valence-decreasing, increasing, or maintaining. In verbs containing multiple verbal extensions, argument structure is determined by the final extension. The following sections discuss properties of Bena subjects, objects (including double object constructions), and obliques. Following this is a discussion of voice and valence—here I discuss the ways in which different verbal extensions can be used to increase and decrease verbal valence.

#### 7.1.2.1 Subject

The subject in Bena is the most prominent grammatical relation. Keenan (1976) outlines a number of properties displayed by subjects cross-linguistically. These properties are generally true of subjects occurring in sentences which are semantically basic (unmarked), contain underived verbs, and exhibit basic (SV or SVO) word order. Some of the most important characteristics of subjects, as outlined by Keenan, are highlighted here.<sup>2</sup> Subjects exist independently of the action described by the predicate. This means (using an example taken from Keenan) in a sentence such as “John wrote a poem,” John exists independently of the action of writing; the poem does not. If a sentence contains an agent, the subject usually expresses that agent.<sup>3</sup> Subjects also

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<sup>1</sup> Verbal derivational suffixes are commonly referred to as “extensions” in Bantu. Derivational suffixes can increase or decrease verbal valency. A third group of suffixes maintains verbal valency but changes the meaning of the verb in some other fashion. Derivational suffixes are discussed in detail in 5.3.

<sup>2</sup> It is important to note that these are general properties of subjects. Not all subjects in Bena exhibit all these properties. However, it is usually true that the NP in a given sentence which displays the most subject properties is the subject.

<sup>3</sup> Of course there are numerous exceptions to this claim. One of the major exceptions is the passive construction; however in sentences containing basic underived verbs, this generalization largely holds true.





In (7a) and (b), the verb agrees with the Class 2 subject *aváána* ‘children’; this agreement is marked using the Class 2 subject prefix *va-*. Sentences do not have to contain a subject NP, as in the examples below:

- (7) a. *Vigéénda.*  
       *va-i-génd-a*  
       CL2-PRES-walk-FV  
       ‘They are walking.’
- b. *Vítova*                    *ilibwa.*  
       *va-i-tov-a*            *i-li-bwa*  
       CL2-PRES-hit-FV    AUG.5-CL5-dog  
       ‘They are hitting the dog.’

Subjects also have access to processes such as relativization (discussed in 7.2.5), question formation (7.1.7), and cleft formation (7.2.6.1), though this does not distinguish subjects from objects, as objects can also be relativized, questioned, and clefted. There are two types of subjects which merit more detailed discussion—anthropomorphized animals and subjects of impersonal constructions. These are discussed in the following subsections.

#### 7.1.2.1.1 Anthropomorphized animals

Anthropomorphized animals use Class 1/2 (human) subject marking rather than subject marking that agrees with the class of the animal. This is similar to using Class 1/2 augments and personal pronouns for anthropomorphized animals (see and 3.1.1.1 and 3.2.1.1.1). Use of Class 1/2 subjects with anthropomorphized animals is illustrated below:

- (8) *Uhingalúmeende aasahága uhumúliya úndzogolo.*  
 u-hi-ngalúmende a-aa-sah-ag-a u-hu-mu-liy-a u-N-dzogolo  
 AUG.1-CL7-mongoose CL1-P<sub>4</sub>-want-IPFV- AUG.15-E-CL1.OBJ-eat- AUG.1-CL9-rooster  
 FV FV  
 ‘The mongoose wanted to eat the rooster.’  
 (08Sept17b, *The Rooster and the Mongoose: Version 1, line 002*)

- (9) *Ulídeembwe ipulihága pe ihwíimba ungámusungúla úyu.*  
 u-li-dembwe i-pulih-ag-a pe i-hu-imb-a u-ngamu-sungula uyu  
 AUG.1-CL5-elephant CL1-hear- when CL1-E-sing- AUG.1-clever- PROX.DEM  
 IPFV-FV FV hare .1  
 ‘The elephant listened when the hare was singing.’  
 (08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3, line 046*)

For non-anthropomorphized animals, subject agreement is normal (i.e., subject marking is with the noun class of the animal):

- (10) *Hoodzli ng'wáále, dza dzisóla mugúúnda múla.*  
 hoodzili N-kwaale dzi-a dzi-sol-a mu-gunda mu-la  
 EXIST.10 CL10-pheasant CL10-HAB CL10-scratch.FV CL3-field CL3-DIST.DEM  
 ‘There are pheasant, they always scratch at that field.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story, line 037*)

#### 7.1.2.1.2 Impersonal constructions

Class 9 is used as a dummy subject in impersonal constructions where there is no other subject. This is illustrated by the examples below:

- (11) *Yitahíwa húdzova hwa múúnu muséhe.*  
 yi-tahiw-a hu-dzov-a hwa mu-nu mu-sehe  
 CL9-be.necessary-FV CL15-speak-FV ASSOC.17 CL1-person CL1-elder  
 ‘It is necessary to speak with an elder.’  
 (08Oct16f, *Taboos, line 012*)
- (12) *Yitóónya.*  
 yi-tóóny-a  
 CL9-rain-FV  
 ‘It’s raining.’

### 7.1.2.2 Object

In Bena, as in other Bantu languages, underived verbs license up to two objects. Objects are argument NPs that usually occur post-verbally. Transitive verbs license a single object; ditransitive verbs license two objects. Intransitive verbs license a subject (and no objects). Though there are two distinct object types in Bena, I do not refer to them here as “direct” and “indirect” objects, because the two object types do not always have the same grammatical functions as are common with direct and indirect objects (this is discussed in much greater detail in 7.1.2.2.2 below). Therefore it is common in the Bantu literature to refer to these two types of objects as “first and second objects” or as “primary and secondary objects” (see, for example, Bresnan and Moshi 1990 and Bearth 2003).

Another distinction pertaining to object behavior commonly used in the Bantu literature is between “symmetric” and “asymmetric” languages. In symmetric object languages more than one post-verbal NP can simultaneously display properties of a primary object. Bena largely falls into the “asymmetrical object” type. That is, in constructions with two post-verbal objects, only one of the objects can display all the properties of a primary object. The following sections discuss properties of both object types in Bena. In order to establish the properties of primary objects in Bena, I first discuss those constructions which contain only a single object. This is followed by a discussion of double object construction and a description of the ways in which primary and secondary objects can be distinguished in Bena.

### 7.1.2.2.1 Single object constructions

Single object constructions are those constructions which contain one NP object.

This object usually occurs post-verbally,<sup>4</sup> as in (13) below:

- (13) *Ndihumúwona*                      *umwáána.*  
       ndi-hu-mu-won-a                  u-mu-ana  
       1SG-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV        AUG.1-CL1-child  
       ‘I see the/a child.’

Objects in single object constructions occur immediately following the verb; other elements cannot occur between the object and the verb. Example (14) is ungrammatical because the adverb *lino* ‘now’ occurs between the verb and the object:

- (14) \**Ndihumúwona*                      *lino umwáána.*  
       ndi-hu-mu-won-a                  lino u-mu-ana  
       1SG-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV        now AUG.1-CL1-child

There is one exception to the generalization that other elements cannot intervene between the verb and the object. The adverb *haangi* occurs immediately post-verbally and therefore can occur between a verb and its object, as in (15):

- (15) *Ndihumúwona*                      *haangi umwáána.*  
       ndi-hu-mu-won-a                  haangi u-mu-ana  
       1SG-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV        again AUG.1-CL1-child  
       ‘I see the child again.’

The adverb *haangi* is the only word that can occur between a verb and its object; otherwise objects occur in immediate post-verbal position.

<sup>4</sup> It is also possible for objects to be fronted in focus constructions. An example of this was given in (3). Focus constructions are discussed in 7.2.6.

Objects are marked on the verb using a series of prefixes. Object prefixes agree in class with the object. These prefixes are fully described in 5.2.2 and are exemplified by (16) and (17) below:

- (16) a. *Ndihumúwona*                      *umwáána.*  
           ndi-hu-mu-won-a                  u-mu-ana  
           1 SG-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV        AUG.1-CL1-child  
           ‘I see the/a child.’
- b. *Ndihumúwona.*  
           ndi-hu-mu-won-a  
           1 SG-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV  
           ‘I see him/her.’
- (17) a. *Ndihulfwona*                      *ilibíhi.*  
           ndi-hu-li-won-a                  i-li-bíhi  
           1 SG-E-CL5.OBJ-see-FV        AUG.1-CL5-tree  
           ‘I see the/a tree.’
- b. *Ndihulfwona.*  
           ndi-hu-li-won-a  
           1 SG-E-CL5.OBJ-see-FV  
           ‘I see it.’

Animate and inanimate objects display slightly different behaviors with respect to object marking. Object marking is obligatory with animate objects. This is shown in (18), where (a) is ungrammatical because the object is not marked with a prefix on the verb:

- (18) a. *\*Ndíwona*    *umwáána.*  
           ndi-won-a    u-mu-ana  
           1 SG-see-FV   AUG.1-CL1-child
- b. *Ndihumúwona*                      *umwáána.*  
           ndi-hu-mu-won-a                  u-mu-ana  
           1 SG-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV        AUG.1-CL1-child  
           ‘I see the/a child.’

In contrast, object marking is optional with inanimate objects, thus both (a) and (b) in the following examples are grammatical.

- (19) a. *Ndíwona ifínu.*  
           ndi-won-a i-fi-nu  
           1SG-see-FV AUG.8-CL8-thing  
           ‘I see (the) things.’
- b. *Ndihúftwona ifínu*  
           ndi-hu-fi-won-a i-fi-nu  
           1SG-E-CL8.OBJ-see-FV AUG.8-CL8-thing  
           ‘I see (the) things.’

Objects may also be fronted in left dislocation (a type of focus construction; see 7.2.6.3).

When an object is fronted, it is obligatorily marked on the verb, regardless of whether it is animate or inanimate. This is shown in (20) and (21) below, where both (a) examples are ungrammatical because there is no object prefix on the verb; the (b) examples show object marking:

- (20) a. *\*Umwáána ndíwona.*  
           u-mu-ana ndi-won-a  
           AUG.1-CL1-child 1SG-see-FV
- b. *Umwáána ndihumúwona.*  
           u-mu-ana ndi-hu-mu-won-a  
           AUG.1-CL1-child 1SG-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV  
           ‘The child, I see him/her.’
- (21) a. *\*Ifínu ndíwona.*  
           i-fi-nu ndi-won-a  
           AUG.8-CL8-thing 1SG-see-FV
- b. *Ifínu ndihúftwona.*  
           i-fi-nu ndi-hu-fi-won-a  
           AUG.8-CL8-thing 1SG-E-CL8.OBJ-see-FV  
           ‘The things, I see them.’

Multiple factors play a role in object marking. These include animacy (as demonstrated in (18) and (19) and other discourse related factors (such as focus constructions, as in (20) and (21)). It is likely that the presence (or absence) of object marking is determined by a complex interplay of factors such as animacy, information structure, or presence/absence of an overt object NP. Such factors have been determined to play a role in other Bantu languages (see, for example Mchombo 2004). Further research is necessary to determine the precise factors which contribute to object marking and the ways in which these factors relate to one another. This is an area in which corpus studies of Bena discourse could prove particularly useful.

An additional property of Bena objects is their ability to be passivized. In a passive construction, the object is promoted to subject. The new subject occurs preverbally and triggers subject agreement on the verb. The former subject is either deleted or demoted to an oblique. This is illustrated below:

- (22) a. *Umwadááda idzéénga ikááya ímya.*  
 u-mu-adááda i-dzeng-a i-kaaya i-N-pya  
 AUG.1-CL1-man CL1-build-FV AUG.9-house AUG.9-CL9-new  
 ‘The man is building a new house.’
- b. *Ikááya ímya yidzééngwa (numwadááda).*  
 i-kaaya i-N-pya yi-dzeng-w-a (na=u-mu-adaada)  
 AUG.9-house AUG.9-CL9-new CL9-build-pass-FV and=AUG.1-CL1-man  
 ‘A new house is being built (by the man).’

In (21a), *umwadááda* ‘man’ is the subject of the verb and *ikááya ímya* ‘new house’ is the object. In (21b) *ikááya ímya* ‘new house’ has been promoted to subject, as is evidenced by its preverbal position and the Class 9 subject marking on the verb. The original subject (*mwadááda*) has been demoted to an oblique preceded by *na* ‘and, with’.



Finally, objects can be relativized and clefted, as in (23):

- (23) a. *Ndihaafigúle*                      *ifideego*.  
           ndi-haa-fi-gul-e                  i-fi-deego  
           1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-CL8.OBJ-buy-FV AUG.8-CL8-chair  
           ‘I bought the chairs’
- b. *Ifideego*              *fye*              *ndihaafigúle*              *fili*              *ápa*.  
           i-fi-deego              fi-e              ndi-haa-fi-gul-e              fi-li              ápa  
           AUG.8-CL8-chair CL8-REL 1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-CL8.OBJ-buy-FV CL8-COP PROX.DEM.16  
           ‘The chairs which I bought are here.’
- c. *fye*              *fideego*              *fye*              *ndihaafigúle*  
           fi-e              fi-deego              fi-e              ndi-haa-fi-gul-e  
           CL8-REL CL8-chair CL8-REL 1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-CL8.OBJ-buy-FV  
           ‘It is chairs which I bought.’

(23a) is a basic, unmarked transitive construction. *Ifideego* ‘chairs’ is the object of the verb. It occurs immediate post-verbally and the verb has a Class 8 object prefix which agrees with *ifideego*. In (b), *ifideego* occurs as the head of a relative clause. The relative pronoun *fye* agrees with *ifideego* in class. The relativized NP serves as the subject of the matrix clause. Finally, in (c), *fideego* is clefted. It occurs sentence-initially and is both preceded and followed by the relative pronoun *fye*.

The ability to be relativized and clefted does not distinguish objects from subjects (as subjects can also be relativized and clefted). It does, however, distinguish objects from certain types of obliques which cannot be relativized or clefted without first becoming objects. Relativization and clefting is discussed in more detail in 7.2.5 and 7.2.6.1, respectively.

#### 7.1.2.2.2 Double object constructions

Double object constructions are those which have two post-verbal objects, as illustrated by the following example:

- (24) *Ndimúpee*                      *umwáána*                      *ihyahúliya*.  
       ndi-mu-pel-ile                u-mu-ana                i-hi-ahúliya  
       1SG-CL1.OBJ-give-FV    AUG.1-CL1-child    AUG.7-CL7-food  
       ‘I gave the child food.’

It has been claimed that Bantu languages can be roughly divided into two types of languages based on the behavior of post-verbal NP objects (see, for example, Hyman and Duranti 1982, Bresnan and Moshi 1990, Bearth 2003). Such analyses claim that in “symmetrical” languages more than one NP can exhibit the syntactic properties of an object. Examples of symmetrical languages include Chaga (Bresnan and Moshi 1990) and Kikuyu (Ngonyani and Githinji 2006). In contrast, “asymmetrical” languages restrict syntactic properties of an object to a single post-verbal NP. This NP (the primary object) is typically higher in animacy than the secondary object, it usually occurs immediately post-verbally, and is usually some sort of beneficiary or recipient. Asymmetrical languages include Chichewa (Bresnan and Moshi 1990) and Ngoni (Ngonyani and Githinji 2006). Bena most closely fits into the asymmetrical object type—only one post-verbal NP (*umwáána* ‘child’ in (24) above) can display all of the syntactic properties of an object. Some properties (the ability to be relativized and the ability to be clefted) are shared by both primary and secondary objects (as well as subjects).

As with many other Bantu languages there are only a few underived (monomorphemic) verbs in Bena which are ditransitive. These include *pela* ‘give’, *bahila*

‘smear’, *wúúdzá* ‘ask’, and *wúúnga* ‘teach’. Other ditransitive verbs are derived through valence-increasing processes such as the causative and applicative. The following section discusses the properties of double object constructions (such as (24) above) in Bena. First I show the syntactic (formal) properties which differentiate primary and secondary objects. This is then followed by a discussion of the role of animacy and semantic role in determining which NP will serve as primary object.

The first object property which is held only by primary objects in a double object construction is that of object marking on the verb with a prefix. As with objects in single object constructions, primary objects are marked on the verb using a prefix in the OM slot of the verb. This is shown in (25a) below. Sentence (b) illustrates that the marking of the secondary object (in this case *ihyahúliya* ‘food’) on the verb using the Class 7 object prefix *hi-* renders the sentence ungrammatical.

- (25) a. *Umwayúúva*      *avalisíídze*      *aváána*      *ihyahúliya.*  
           u-mu-ayúúva      a-va-liy-i-ile      a-va-na      i-hi-ahúliya  
           AUG.1-CL1-woman    CL1-CL2.OBJ-eat-CAUS-FV    AUG.2-CL2-child    AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘The woman fed the children food.’
- b. \**Umwayúúva*      *ahilisíídze*      *aváána*      *ihyahúliya.*  
           u-mu-ayúúva      a-hi-liy-i-ile      a-va-na      i-hi-ahúliya  
           AUG.1-CL1-woman    CL1-CL7.OBJ-eat-CAUS-FV    AUG.2-CL2-child    AUG.7-CL7-food

The behavior of primary and secondary objects with respect to object is clearly that of an asymmetric object language. With respect to word order, the data is less clear-cut. In an asymmetric language, it is expected that only the primary object would be able to appear in the immediate post-verbal position. In contrast, symmetric languages allow

either object to occur immediately following the verb. In Bena, either ordering of primary and secondary objects is possible, as shown in (26):

- (26) a. *Ndihaamutelehyé*                      *umwáána*                      *ihyahúliya*.  
           ndi-haa-mu-teleh-el-ile              u-mu-ana                      i-hi-ahúliya  
           1SG-P3-CL1.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV    AUG.1-CL1-child    AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘I cooked the child food.’
- b. *Ndihaamutelehyé*                      *ihyahúliya*                      *umwáána*.  
           ndi-haa-mu-teleh-el-ile              i-hi-ahúliya                      u-mu-ana  
           1SG-P3-CL1.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV    AUG.7-CL7-food    AUG.1-CL1-child  
           ‘I cooked food for the child.’

However, though it is possible for either object to occur in immediate post-verbal position, consultants showed a definite preference for the ordering given in (26a) above, where the animate object occurs closest to the verb. They agreed that the ordering in (b) wasn’t ungrammatical, but doubted that speakers would use such an ordering very often. Thus while the grammaticality of (b) is a property of a symmetric type language, speaker preference for (a) supports classification of Bena as an asymmetric type.

Further, the behavior of object marking shows that even though the secondary object *ihyahúliya* ‘food’ occurs immediately post-verbally in (26b) above, it is not the primary object. Object marking is still with the Class 1 primary object (*umwáána* ‘child’). An attempt to use Class 7 object marking (agreeing with *ihyahúliya* ‘food’) is ungrammatical, as shown below:

- (27) \**Ndihaahitelehyé*                      *ihyahúliya*                      *umwáána*.  
       ndi-haa-**hi**-teleh-el-ile              i-hi-ahúliya                      u-mu-ana  
       1SG-P3-**CL7**.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV    AUG.7-CL7-food    AUG.1-CL1-child

Another property of objects is their ability to be promoted to subjects in passive constructions. Primary objects can be passivized, as shown in (28b) below; secondary objects, in contrast, cannot undergo passivization, as shown in (c):

- (28) a. *Umwayúúva*      *ahaamubahíle*      *umwáána*      *amáfuta*.  
 u-mu-ayúúva      a-haa-mu-bahil-e      u-mu-ana      a-ma-futa  
 AUG.1-CL1-woman CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-CL1.OBJ-smear-FV AUG.1-CL1-child AUG.6-CL6-oil  
 ‘The woman smeared the child (with) oil.’
- b. *Umwáána*      *ahaabahíilwe*      *amáfuta*.  
 u-mu-ana      a-haa-bahil-w-e      a-ma-futa  
 AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-smear-PASS-FV AUG.6-CL6-oil  
 ‘The child was smeared with oil.’
- c. \**Amáfuta*      *gahaabahíilwe*      *umwáána*.  
 a-ma-futa      ga-haa-bahil-w-e      u-mu-ana  
 AUG.6-CL6-oil CL6-P<sub>3</sub>-smear-PASS-FV AUG.1-CL1-child  
 (attempted: ‘The oil was smeared on the child.’)

Therefore the ability of primary objects to undergo passivization (along with the restriction preventing secondary objects from being passivized) provides additional evidence in support of classification of Bena as an asymmetric object language.

The final two object properties are relativizability and cleftability. Both primary and secondary objects can be relativized (29) and clefted (30):

- (29) a. *aváána*      *ve*      *ahaavapééle*      *ihyahúliya*.  
 a-va-na      ve      a-haa-va-pel-ile      i-hi-ahúliya  
 AUG.2-CL2-child REL.2 CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-CL2.OBJ-give-FV AUG.7-CL7-food  
 ‘the children to whom s/he gave food.’
- b. *ihyahúliya*      *hye*      *ahaavapééle*      *aváána*  
 i-hi-ahúliya      hi-e      a-haa-va-pel-ile      a-va-na  
 AUG.7-CL7-food CL7-REL CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-CL2.OBJ-give-FV AUG.2-CL2-child  
 ‘the food which s/he gave the children’

- (30) a. *ve váána ve ahaavapééle ihyahúliya.*  
*ve va-na ve a-haa-va-pel-ile i-hi-ahúliya*  
 REL.2 CL2-child REL.2 CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-CL2.OBJ-give-FV AUG.7-CL7-food  
 'It is children to whom s/he gave food.'
- b. *hye hyahúliya hye ahaavapééle aváána*  
*hi-e hi-ahúliya hi-e a-haa-va-pel-ile a-va-na*  
 CL7-REL CL7-food CL7-REL CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-CL2.OBJ-give-FV AUG.2-CL2-child  
 'It is food which s/he gave the children'.

Though relativizability and cleftability do not provide a way to distinguish primary and secondary objects from one another, they do provide evidence that primary and secondary objects are different from certain types of obliques, which cannot be relativized or clefted. (See 7.2.5 and 7.2.6.1.)

The previous paragraphs have discussed formal properties of both primary and secondary objects in Bena. I have demonstrated that the two types of objects exhibit different formal properties. Further, Bena clearly displays behavior characteristic of an asymmetric object language. The following table summarizes object properties in Bena and compares them with those of both symmetric and asymmetric languages:

PROPERTY	SYMMETRIC LANGUAGE	ASYMMETRIC LANGUAGE	BENA
Which object(s) can be passivized?	either	primary only	primary only
Which object(s) can be marked on the verb?	either (or both)	primary only	primary only
Which object(s) appear immediately post-verbally?	either	primary only	either (but preference for primary)
Can more than one post-verbal NP display properties of primary object?	yes	no	no
Which object(s) can be relativized?	either	varies	either
Which object(s) can be clefted?	either	varies	either

**Table 7.1** Bena object properties compared with object properties of symmetric and asymmetric languages

In constructions containing two post-verbal NPs, it is important to determine which NP is the primary object and which is the secondary object. When one NP is animate and the other inanimate, the animate NP displays all the properties of the primary object. Animate objects are marked on the verb with a prefix, they occur closer to the verb, and they have the ability to undergo passivization. All the examples in (25) through (30) above showed situations in which one object NP (the primary object) was animate and the other (the secondary object) inanimate.

When both post-verbal NPs are animate, primary objecthood is determined by semantic role. As Hyman and Duranti (1982) note, beneficiaries are the semantic roles which have greatest access to the syntactic properties of object. This is followed by recipients, then patients, and finally by instruments. This means that when both objects are equal in animacy, the primary object is the one whose semantic role occurs highest on

the hierarchy. The following example contains two animate post-verbal NPs. *Umwayúúva* ‘woman’ is the beneficiary; *aváána* ‘children’ is the patient:

- (31) *Vamúpeelee*                      *umwayúúva*                      *aváána*.  
       va-mu-pel-ile                      u-mu-ayúúva                      a-va-na  
       CL2-CL1.OBJ-give-FV    AUG.1-CL1-woman    AUG.2-CL2-child  
       ‘They gave the woman children.’

Though the ordering of primary and secondary objects in (31) is preferred by consultants, it is also possible to reverse the order of beneficiary and patient, as in (32):

- (32) *Vamúpeelee*                      *aváána*                      *umwayúúva*.  
       va-mu-pel-ile                      a-va-na                      u-mu-ayúúva  
       CL2-CL1.OBJ-give-FV    AUG.2-CL2-child                      AUG.1-CL1-woman  
       ‘They gave the woman children.’

In (32) the interpretation “they gave the children the woman” is not possible. Consultants indicated that because of the Class 1 object marker on the verb, the only interpretation is with *umwayúúva* ‘woman’ as the beneficiary. Therefore when both objects are animate the beneficiary displays primary object properties. If the object marker is changed to Class 2, the interpretation changes so that *aváána* ‘children’ are the beneficiary, regardless of the ordering of the NPs, as shown in (33) and (34) below:

- (33) *Vavápeelee*                      *aváána*                      *umwayúúva*.  
       va-va-pel-ile                      a-va-na                      u-mu-ayúúva  
       CL2-CL2.OBJ-give-FV    AUG.2-CL2-child                      AUG.1-CL1-woman  
       ‘They gave the children a woman.’  
       (impossible: “They gave the woman children.”)
- (34) *Vavápeelee*                      *umwayúúva*                      *aváána*.  
       va-va-pel-ile                      u-mu-ayúúva                      a-va-na  
       CL2-CL2.OBJ-give-FV    AUG.1-CL1-woman    AUG.2-CL2-child  
       ‘They gave the children a woman.’  
       (impossible: “They gave the woman children.”)



Further, passivization is only possible of *umwayúúva* ‘woman’ (the beneficiary), as shown in (35a). As (b) shows, passivization of the patient *aváána* is ungrammatical:

- (35) a. *Umwayúúva*            *apevíílwe*            *aváána*.  
           u-mu-ayúúva            a-pel-w-ile            a-va-na  
           AUG.1-CL1-woman    CL1-give-PASS-FV    AUG.2-CL2-child  
           ‘The woman was given the children.’
- b. \**Aváána*                    *vapevíílwe*            *umwayúúva*.  
           a-va-na                    va-pel-w-ile            u-mu-ayúúva  
           AUG.2-CL2-child        CL2-give-PASS-FV    AUG.1-CL1-woman  
           (attempted: “The children were given (to) the woman.”)

### 7.1.2.3 Oblique

Obliques are NPs which are not arguments. In Bena, a sentence may contain multiple obliques. In unmarked constructions with normal word order, obliques follow any objects that occur in a sentence. A schema of basic word order, expanded to include obliques (represented by X) is given in (36). (This schema is based on Bearth 2003.):

- (36) S V O<sub>primary</sub> O<sub>secondary</sub> X<sub>1</sub> X<sub>2</sub>...

There are several different types of obliques in Bena. The first type of oblique NP occurs immediately following the clitic *na* ‘and, with’. These obliques are usually instruments or accompaniments and are exemplified below:

- (37) *Unééne*            *ndisigála*            *pakááye*            *naváána*.  
           u-nééne            ndi-sigal-a            pa-kááye            na=a-va-na  
           AUG.1-1SG.PRO    1SG-remain-FV    CL16-house        with=AUG.2-CL2-child  
           ‘Me, I remained home with the children.’

(08Oct01b, *Growing Up*, line 003)

- (38) *Pe ndihééngile amasóli góónnda, ndiváávile numóoto.*  
 pe ndi-heng-ile a-ma-soli ga-onda ndi-vaav-ile na=u-mu-oto  
 REL.16 1SG-clear-FV AUG.6-CL6- CL6-all 1SG-burn-FV with=AUG.3-CL3-fire  
 grass

‘When I have cleared all the grass, I burn (it) with fire.’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 010)

When a subject is demoted to an oblique in a passive construction it appears following

*na*:

- (39) *Umwayúúva yúla, idobohága uhutólwa nuseengéle.*  
 u-mu-ayúúva yúla i-doboh-ag-a u-hu-tol-w-a na=u-sengele  
 AUG.1-CL1-woman DIST.DEM.1 CL1-desire-NARR-FV AUG.15-CL15- and=AUG.1-  
 marry-PASS-FV zebra

‘That woman, she wanted to be married by the zebra.’

(08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 044)

The second major oblique type in Bena includes locations and times. These NPs are

prefixed with one of the three locative class prefixes (16, 17, or 18).

- (40) *Umwáána umuhíindza aakuliye mulílaamba.*  
 u-mu-ana u-mu-hindza a-aa-kul-ile mu-li-lamba  
 AUG.1-CL1-child AUG.1-CL1-girl CL1-P4-grow.up-FV CL18-CL5-swamp  
 The girl child grew up in the swamp.’

(08Oct06b, *Swamp Girl*, line 005)

- (41) *Uhúlima tiváanga pamwéédzi ugwa líkyumi.*  
 u-hu-lim-a ti-vang-a pa-mu-edzi u-gwa likyumi  
 AUG.15-CL15-farm-FV 1PL-begin-FV CL16-CL3-moon AUG.3-ASSOC.3 ten  
 ‘Farming, we begin (it) in October.’

(08Oct06h, *Times of Planing*, line 001)

There are a number of properties of Bena arguments that are not exhibited by obliques.

First, obliques do not control any type of verbal agreement. Second, arguments occur

closer to the verb than do obliques. Therefore in a construction that contains both

argument and oblique NPs, the oblique NPs may not intervene between a verb and one of

its arguments. Finally, not all obliques have access to relativization and clefting strategies. Locations and times can be relativized and clefted; other oblique types cannot (at least not without being promoted to either subject or object). Relativization and cleftability are discussed in 7.2.5 and 7.2.6.1.

### 7.1.3 Voice and valence

Verbal valence<sup>5</sup> is an inherent property of verbs and affects the number of arguments a given verb may allow. Bena has intransitive, transitive, and ditransitive verbs. Derivational extensions can be used to change verbal valence. There are valence-increasing extensions (applicative and causative) as well as valence-decreasing extensions (passive, reciprocal, and stative). There are also valence-maintaining extensions which do not affect verbal valence. Verbal extensions are discussed in 5.3. The following sections discuss valence-changing operations. (Valence of underived verbs was discussed in 7.1.2.)

#### 7.1.3.1 Valence increasing operations

There are two different processes in Bena by which verbal valence can be increased. Both involve the use of derivational extensions. In the applicative construction, a new argument is introduced as an object or a former oblique becomes an object. The causative construction also adds a new argument—the causer of the action is introduced

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<sup>5</sup> Here, and throughout, I use “valence” and “transitivity” interchangeably to describe the number of arguments a verb may take. I do not make a distinction between valence and transitivity (as do, for example Van Valin and LaPolla 1997).

as a subject and the former subject is demoted (either to an object or oblique). The applicative is formed with the derivational extension *-il*; there are several different causative extensions (*-i*, *-is*, and *-idz*). Morphological properties of the applicative and causative were discussed in 4.3.2 and 4.3.3, respectively.

#### 7.1.3.1.1 Applicative

The applicative construction is formed by adding the derivational extension *-il* to a verb. It increases verbal valence by introducing an argument (an object). Applicatives may make an intransitive verb transitive or a transitive verb ditransitive.<sup>6</sup> In Bena, the applicative construction can introduce a wide variety of arguments. Several examples of the applicative construction and different semantic types of arguments which it can introduce are shown below. In each pair of examples, the (a) sentence shows the underived verb; the (b) sentence is the applicative construction.

#### (42) Benefactive

- a.     *Nditeléha*                   *ihyahúliya.*  
       *ndi-i-teleh-a*       *i-hi-ahuliya*  
       1SG-PRES-cook-FV   AUG.7-CL7-food  
       ‘I am cooking food.’
- b.     *Ndihuvatelehéla*                   *aváána*                   *ihyahúliya.*  
       *ndi-i-hu-va-teleh-el-a*       *a-va-na*                   *i-hi-ahuliya*  
       1SG-PRES-E-CL2.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV   AUG.2-CL2-child   AUG.7-CL7-food  
       ‘I am cooking the children food.’

<sup>6</sup> At this point it is unclear whether or not it is possible to add an applicative extension to an underlyingly ditransitive verb in Bena. Attempt to do so in elicitation failed, but it is unclear whether that is because such constructions are truly ungrammatical in Bena or whether it was due to translation difficulties or a misunderstanding on the part of consultants as to what they were being asked to do. No examples of lexically ditransitive verbs with applicative extensions exist in the corpus. Because attempts to add a causative (another type of valence-increasing extension) to a lexically ditransitive verb also failed, it is likely that it is simply impossible to add valence-increasing extensions to lexically ditransitive verbs. However this is a generalization which is inconclusive at best at this point.

## (43) Instrument

- a. *Wisíimba* *ihaate.*  
 u-i-simb-a i-haate  
 2SG-PRES-write-FV AUG.9-letter  
 'You are writing a letter.'
- b. *Ihisiimbílo,* *wisiimbíla* *ihaate.*  
 i-hi-siimbilo u-i-simb-il-a i-haate  
 AUG.7-CL7-pen 2SG-PRES-write-APPL-FV AUG.9-letter  
 'The pen, you are writing a letter with it.'

## (44) Reason

- a. *Umwáána* *ivéémba.*  
 u-mu-ana i-vemb-a  
 AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-cry-FV  
 'The child is crying.'
- b. *Umwáána* *iveembéla* *ímola.*  
 u-mu-ana i-vemb-el-a i-mola  
 AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-cry-APPL-FV AUG.9-news  
 'The child is crying because of the news.'

## (45) Recipient

- a. *Ulete* *ihimááge.*  
 u-let-e i-hi-maage  
 2SG-bring-FV AUG.7-CL7-knife  
 'Bring a knife.'
- b. *Úndetele* *ihimááge.*  
 u-N-let-el-e i-hi-maage  
 2SG-1SG.OBJ-bring-APPL-FV AUG.7-CL7-knife  
 'Bring me a knife.'

## (46) Experiencer

- a. *Ndilóonga* *ulúsimo.*  
 ndi-long-a u-lu-simo  
 1SG-tell-FV AUG.11-CL11-story  
 'I am telling a story.'
- b. *Ndihuvaloongéla* *aváána* *ulúsimo.*  
 ndi-hu-va-long-el-a a-va-na u-lu-simo  
 1SG-E-CL2-tell-APPL-FV AUG.2-CL2-child AUG.11-CL11-story  
 'I am telling the children a story.'

## (47) Goal

- a. *Viifiha.*  
 va-i-fih-a  
 2SG-PRES-arrive-FV  
 'They are arriving.'
- b. *Viifihila* *umugúúnda.*  
 va-i-fih-il-a u-mu-gunda  
 2SG-PRES-arrive-APPL-FV AUG.3-CL3-field  
 'They are arriving at the field.'

## (48) Path

- a. *Ndigéénda.*  
 ndi-gend-a  
 1SG-walk-FV  
 'I am walking.'
- b. *Ndigeendéla* *ing'aasi.*  
 ndi-gend-el-a i-ng'aasi  
 1SG-walk-APPL-FV CL9-road  
 'I am walking along the road.'

The role of an applied object is typically determined by a combination of semantics and context. Consider the following examples:

- (49) a. *Wisiimbíla* *ihisiimbílo* *ihaate.*  
 u-i-simb-il-a i-hi-siimbilo i-haate  
 2SG-PRES-write-APPL-FV AUG.7-CL7-pen AUG.9-letter  
 'You are writing a letter with a pen.'
- b. *Wisiimbíla* *uyúúva* *ihaate.*  
 u-i-simb-il-a u-yúúva i-haate  
 2SG-PRES-write-APPL-FV CL1-mother AUG.9-letter  
 'You are writing Mother a letter.'

In (49) both examples (a) and (b) show use of the applicative form of the verb *siimba* ‘write’. In example (a) the applied object is an instrument; in example (b) the applied object is a recipient.

Applied objects have all the same properties of primary objects in Bena. Animate applied objects occur in immediate post-verbal position; they are marked on the verb with a prefix (50a); applied objects may be fronted (b) and passivized (c).

- (50) a. *Ndihaamutelehyé*                      *umwáána*                      *ihyahúliya.*  
           ndi-haa-mu-teleh-il-ile              u-mu-ana                      i-hi-ahúliya  
           1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-CL1.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV    AUG.1-CL1-child    AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘I cooked the child food.’
- b. *Umwáána,*                      *ndihaamutelehyé*                      *ihyahúliya.*  
           u-mu-ana                      ndi-haa-mu-teleh-il-ile              i-hi-ahúliya  
           AUG.1-CL1-child    1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-CL1.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV    AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘The child, I cooked food for him/her.’
- c. *Umwáána*                      *atelehiilwe*                      *ihyahúliya.*  
           u-mu-ana                      a-teleh-il-w-ile                      i-hi-ahúliya  
           AUG.1-CL1-child    CL1-cook-APPL-PASS-FV              AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘The child was cooked food.’

Like other arguments, applied objects can be relativized (51a) and clefted (51b):

- (51) a. *Umwáána*                      *ye*                      *ndihaamutelehyé*                      *ihyahúliya.*  
           u-mu-ana                      ye                      ndi-haa-mu-teleh-il-ile              i-hi-ahúliya  
           AUG.1-CL1-child    REL.1    1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-CL1.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV    AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘the child for whom I cooked food’
- b. *ye*                      *mwáána*                      *ye*                      *ndihaamutelehyé*                      *ihyahúliya.*  
           ye                      mu-ana                      ye                      ndi-haa-mu-teleh-il-ile              i-hi-ahúliya  
           REL.1    CL1-child    REL.1    1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-CL1.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV    AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘it is the child for whom I cooked food’

### 7.1.3.1.2 Causative

The causative construction also affects verbal valence. The vast majority of causative verbs are valence increasing; however there are a few causative verbs (which are discussed at the end of this section) which are valence-maintaining. Causative verbs are formed by suffixing one of several causative suffixes (*-i*, *-is*, or *-idz*) to a verb (formation of the causative is described in 5.3.3). However, rather than introducing an object, the causative introduces an agent (the person/thing causing the action) as a subject:

- (52) a. *Wihéha.*  
 u-i-heh-a  
 2SG-PRES-laugh-FV  
 ‘You are laughing.’
- b. *Ndihuhésa.*  
 ndi-i-hu-heh-i-a  
 1SG-PRES-2SG.OBJ-laugh-CAUS-FV  
 ‘I am making you laugh.’

The verb *heha* ‘laugh’ in (52a) is intransitive. Use of the causative construction in (b) introduces a participant (‘me’) as a subject; the former subject (‘you’) is then demoted and becomes an object. This is true for both unergative and unaccusative verbs, as illustrated by (53) and (54), respectively:

- (53) a. *Íinyila.*  
 i-i-nyil-a  
 CL1-PRES-run-FV  
 ‘S/he is running.’



- b. *Ndihumunyídzá.*  
 ndi-i-hu-mu-nyil-i-a  
 1SG-PRES-E-CL1OBJ- run-CAUS-FV  
 ‘I am chasing him/her (making him/her run).’
- (54) a. *Ilibíhi lihaagwé.*  
 i-li-bihi li-haa-gw-e  
 AUG.5-CL5-tree CL5-P<sub>3</sub>-fall-FV  
 ‘The tree fell.’
- b. *Umulími ahaagwisíídze ilibíhi.*  
 u-mu-limi a-haa-gw-is-ile i-li-bihi  
 AUG.1-CL1-farmer CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-fall-CAUS-FV AUG.5-CL5-tree  
 ‘The farmer felled the tree.’

When a causative extension is added to a transitive verb, the resultant form is ditransitive<sup>7</sup>:

- (55) a. *Umwáána íliya uwugáli.*  
 u-mu-ana a-i-liy-a u-wu-gali  
 AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-PRES-eat-FV AUG.14-CL14-porridge  
 ‘The child is eating porridge.’
- b. *Uyúúva ahumulísa umwáána uwugáli.*  
 u-yuuva a-hu-mu-liy-i-a u-mu-ana u-wu-gali  
 AUG.1-mother CL1-E-CL1.OBJ-eat- CAUS-FV AUG.1-CL1-child AUG.14-CL14-porridge  
 ‘Mother is feeding the child porridge.’

In (55b) above, the causative introduces the causer *Uyúúva* ‘Mother’ as a subject. The former subject *umwáána* ‘child’ is demoted to a primary object; the former object *uwugáli* ‘porridge’ becomes the secondary object. The grammatical roles of each of these

<sup>7</sup> At this point it is unclear whether or not it is possible to add a causative extension to an underlyingly ditransitive verb in Bena. Attempt to do so in elicitation failed (as did attempts to add applicative extensions to ditransitive verbs), but it is unclear whether that is because such constructions are truly ungrammatical in Bena or whether it was due to translation difficulties or a misunderstanding on the part of consultants as to what they were being asked to do.

participants is shown below with evidence from passivization. First, consider (56)

(underived):

- (56) a. *Aváána*                      *vááliye*                      *ihyahúliya*.  
           a-va-na                      va-liy-ile                      i-hi-ahúliya  
           AUG.2-CL2-child    AUG.2-eat-FV    AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘The children ate food.’
- b. *Ihyahúliya*                      *hiliídze*                      (*naváána*).  
           i-hi-ahúliya                      hi-liy-w-ile                      na=a-va-na  
           AUG.7-CL7-food    CL7-eat-PASS-FV    and=AUG.2-CL2-child  
           ‘The food was eaten (by the children).’

In (b), the original object *ihyahúliya* is promoted to a subject through passivization.

When the verb *liya* ‘eat’ is causativized (resulting in *lísa* ‘feed’), it licenses two objects, a primary object and a secondary object:

- (57) *Uyúúva*                      *avalisiídze*                      *aváána*                      *ihyahúliya*.  
           u-yúúva                      a-va-liy-i-ile                      a-va-na                      i-hi-ahúliya  
           AUG.1-mother    CL1-CL2.OBJ-eat-CAUS-FV    AUG.2-CL2-child    AUG.7-CL7-food  
           ‘Mother fed the children food.’

Only the primary object (*aváána* ‘children’) may be passivized, as shown in (58) below.

The secondary object, *ihyahúliya* ‘food’, cannot be passivized, as illustrated by the ungrammatical sentence given in (b):

- (58) a. *Aváána*                      *valisiídze*                      *ihyahúliya*                      (*nuyúúva*).  
           a-va-na                      va-liy-i-w-ile                      i-hi-ahúliya                      na=u-yúúva  
           AUG.2-CL2-child    CL2-eat-CAUS-PASS-FV    AUG.7-CL7-food    and=AUG.1-mother  
           ‘The children were fed food (by Mother).’
- b. \**Ihyahúliya*                      *hiliíídze*                      *aváána*                      *nuyúúva*.  
           i-hi-ahúliya                      hi-liy-i-w-fv                      a-va-na                      na=u-yúúva  
           AUG.7-CL7-food    CL2-eat-CAUS-PASS-FV    AUG.2-CL2-child    and=AUG.1-mother  
           (attempted: ‘the food was fed (to) the children’)

There are a few verbs for which addition of the causative extension does not affect verbal valence. Instead the causative simply intensifies the action described by the verb. Consider the following examples where *pulíha* ‘hear’ and *pulihídza* ‘listen’ are both transitive:

- (59) a. *Ndipulíha*                      *ulwíimbo.*  
           ndi-pulih-a                      u-lu-imbo  
           1SG-hear-FV                      AUG.11-CL11-song  
           ‘I hear the song.’
- b. *Ndipulihídza*                      *ulwíimbo.*  
           ndi-pulih-idz-a                      u-lu-imbo  
           1SG-hear-CAUS-FV                      AUG.11-CL11-song  
           ‘I am listening to the song.’

When the causative extension is added to the verb *gula* ‘buy’, the result is *gudza* ‘sell’.

This is another instance in which addition of the causative extension does not increase verbal valence<sup>8</sup> (both *gula* ‘buy’ and *gudza* ‘sell’ are transitive).

- (60) a. *Ndigula*                              *amayáwo.*  
           ndi-gul-a                              a-ma-yawo  
           1SG-buy-FV                              AUG.6-CL6-sweet.potato  
           ‘I am buying sweet potatoes.’
- b. *Ndigúdza*                              *amayáwo.*  
           ndi-gul-i-a                              a-ma-yawo  
           1SG-buy-CAUS-FV                              AUG.6-CL6-sweet.potato  
           ‘I am selling sweet potatoes.’

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<sup>8</sup> This is the only example in the database of a causative extension which is valence-maintaining but which does not intensify action. It is possible, however, that other verbs in Bena which are in a converse relationship pattern similarly.



languages that have multiple strategies of expressing causation, the strategy which is more structurally integrated (exemplified by 60a) will express more direct causation than a strategy which is less structurally integrated (b). Thus with respect to causatives, Bena follows Haiman's principle of iconicity—the greater conceptual distance expressed in (b) is reflected by greater formal distance.

### 7.1.3.2 Valence decreasing operations

There are several verbal extensions which reduce verbal valence. Passive constructions (formed with the extension *-w*) promote an object to a subject and either delete the original subject entirely or demote it to an oblique. Stative verbs use the verbal extension *-ih*; the stative construction promotes an object to a subject and deletes the original subject. Finally, reciprocals (formed with the extension *-an*), remove the grammatical object. Formation and morphological properties of each of these types of constructions were discussed in Chapter 5: the passive was described in 5.3.1; the stative in 5.3.6; and the reciprocal in 5.3.4. The following sections describe syntactic properties of each of these valence decreasing operations in greater detail.

#### 7.1.3.2.1 Passive

Passive verbs are formed with the verbal extension *-w*. Passivization promotes objects to subjects; the original subject is then demoted. It may appear as an oblique or may be unrealized. However, in a passive construction, inclusion of the former subject as an oblique is always grammatical (this is one of the major differences between passive

constructions and stative constructions, where the original subject can never appear as an oblique; see the discussion below). Passive constructions are typically used to foreground a patientive NP while simultaneously backgrounding an agent (cf. Keenan and Dryer's 2007 discussion of passivization). Most commonly, passivization promotes patientive objects to subjects, as in the example below:

(62) Patient

- a. *Umwadááda idzéénga ikááya ímya.*  
 u-mu-adááda i-dzeng-a i-kaaya i-N-pya  
 AUG.1-CL1-man CL1-build-FV AUG.9-house AUG.9-CL9-new  
 'The man is building a new house.'
- b. *Ikááya ímya yidzééngwa (numwadááda).*  
 i-kaaya i-N-pya yi-dzeng-w-a (na=u-mu-adaada)  
 AUG.9-house AUG.9-CL9-new CL9-build-pass-FV and=AUG.1-CL1-man  
 'A new house is being built (by the man).'

In (62), the object *kááya* 'house' in (a) is promoted to a subject in (b). The original subject *mwadááda* 'man' is demoted to an oblique. Inclusion of *mwadááda* in the newly passivized sentence is optional, as the parentheses show.

In addition to passivization of patients (as shown in (62) above), Bena also allows passivization of other types of NPs. These include beneficiaries (63), locations (64), and possessors (65):

(63) Beneficiary

- a. *Ndihaamutelehyé umwáána ihyahúliya.*  
 ndi-haa-mu-teleh-il-ile u-mu-ana i-hi-ahúliya  
 1SG-P3-CL1.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV AUG.1-CL1-child AUG.7-CL7-food  
 'I cooked the child food.'
- b. *Umwáána atelehiilwe ihyahúliya.*  
 u-mu-ana a-teleh-il-w-ile i-hi-ahúliya  
 AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-cook-APPL-PASS-FV AUG.7-CL7-food  
 'The child was cooked food.'

## (64) Location

- a. *Umwayúúva aanyáámwe ihídoto mubóma.*  
 u-mu-ayúúva a-aa-nyamul-ile i-hi-doto mu-boma  
 AUG.3-CL3-woman CL1-P<sub>4</sub>-take-FV AUG.7-CL7-basket CL18-town  
 ‘The woman took the basket to town.’
- b. *Mubóma mwaanyamulíilwe ihídoto numudála.*  
 mu-boma mu-aa-nyamul-w-ile i-hi-doto na=u-mu-dala  
 CL18-town CL18-P<sub>4</sub>-take-PASS-FV AUG.7-CL7-basket and=AUG.3-CL3-woman  
 ‘To town was taken the basket by the woman.’

## (65) Possessor

- a. *Ahaadeenyíle iligúlu lyáángu.*  
 a-haa-deeny-ile i-li-gulu li-angu  
 CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-break-FV AUG.5-CL5-leg CL5-1SG.POSS  
 ‘S/he broke my leg.’
- b. *Ndihaadeenyíilwe iligúlu numwééne.*  
 ndi-haa-deeny-il-w-ile i-li-gulu na=u-mwééne  
 1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-break-APPL-PASS-FV AUG.5-CL5-leg and=AUG.1-CL1.PRO  
 ‘I was broken my leg by him.’

## 7.1.3.2.2 Stative

The stative construction reduces verbal valence. It is similar in function to the middle voice in other languages (see Kemmer 1993 for a typological analysis of the middle voice). Stative verbs are formed by suffixing the stative suffix *-ih* to a verbal stem (see 5.3.6). The subject of the original verb is deleted and the original object is promoted to a subject. The resultant verb expresses either a state that has resulted from a particular action or the process of undergoing that action. Consider the following examples:





- b. *Ilíduva*                      *liwonéha.*  
 i-li-dzuva                      li-won-ih-a  
 AUG.5-CL5-sun      CL5-see-STAT-FV  
 ‘The sun is visible.’
- (69) a. *Íliya*                      *umúdela.*  
 a-i-liy-a                      u-mu-dela  
 CL1-PRES-eat-FV      AUG.3-CL3-root  
 ‘S/he is eating a root.’
- b. *Umúdela*                      *úgu*                      *gulidzíha.*  
 u-mu-dela                      ugu                      gu-liy-ih-a  
 AUG.3-CL3-root      PROX.DEM.3      CL3-eat-STAT-FV  
 ‘This root is edible.’

Stative verbs commonly occur in the anterior. In the anterior aspect, stative verbs describe a state (for example, a broken twig) which results from some event in the past (the breaking of the twig). In the present tense, some stative verbs rather than describing a particular state or process, express the potential of the subject to undergo that process. Thus in (69b) the verb *lidzíha* ‘be edible’ describes something that is capable of being eaten (rather than something which has been eaten). Though stative verbs usually occur in the past or present, it is possible for stative verbs to occur in future tenses. Consider (70):

- (70) *Ilíduva*                      *lidziwonéha.*  
 i-li-dzuva                      li-dzi-won-ih-a  
 AUG.5-CL5-sun      CL5-F<sub>2</sub>-see-STAT-FV  
 ‘The sun will be visible.’

When a stative verb occurs in the future, the interpretation is that the speaker believes a particular state or process is likely to happen.

### 7.1.3.2.3 Reciprocal

The final valence-decreasing process is the reciprocal construction. The reciprocal extension is *-an*. use of the reciprocal is illustrated by the following examples:

- (71) a. *Ndihútaanga.*  
 ndi-i-hu-tang-a  
 1SG-PRES-2SG.OBJ-help-FV  
 ‘I am helping you.’
- b. *Twitaangána.*  
 tu-i-tang-an-a  
 1PL-PRES-help-RECIP-FV  
 ‘We are helping each other.’

The underived verb in (71a) is transitive; in (b), use of the reciprocal results in an intransitive verb, where the original object is expressed together with the original subject as a plural subject. Subjects of reciprocal verbs are commonly expressed as plurals (as in (71) above). They can also be expressed using conjoined NPs:

- (72) *Umwadááda                  numwayúúva                  viitoolána.*  
 u-mu-adááda                  na=u-mu-ayúúva                  va-i-tool-an-a  
 AUG.1-CL1-man                  and=AUG.1-CL1-woman                  CL2-PRES-marry-RECIP-FV  
 ‘The woman and the man are marrying each other.’

It is also possible to separate the subject and express it discontinuously, so that one of the participants in the action is the grammatical subject; the other is expressed as an oblique:

- (73) *Umwadááda                  iitoolána                  numwayúúva.*  
 u-mu-adááda                  a-i-tool-an-a                  na=u-mu-ayúúva  
 AUG.1-CL1-man                  CL1-PRES-marry-RECIP-FV                  and=AUG.1-CL1-woman  
 ‘The man is marrying with the woman.’

### 7.1.3.3 Combinations of extensions

As discussed in section 5.3 on the morphology of verbal extensions, it is possible for a single verb to contain up to three derivational extensions, though three extensions on one verb is quite rare. In verbs containing three derivational extensions, only two may be valence-changing extensions (at least one must be valence-maintaining). Thus, for example, the verb *dindulilwa* ‘to be opened for/with’ is derived from the verb *díinda* ‘close’ using three extensions: the separative (valence-maintaining), applicative (valence-increasing), and passive (valence-decreasing). Unproductive extensions (such as positional and tentative) occur closest to the root; extensions that are more productive occur further from the root, with the passive occurring last. The following table summarizes the order used when multiple derivational extensions occur on a single verb (extensions listed together in a single column never co-occur on one verb):

Extensive Impositive Positional Tentive	Separative	Applicative Stative	Causative Intensive Reciprocal	Passive
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**Table 7.2 Order of Bena derivational extensions**

Ordering of verbal extensions in Bena is fixed. This is different from some other Bantu languages (e.g., Chichewa, see Mchombo 2004) which allow different orderings of the causative and applicative.

Verbal valence on verbs containing multiple derivational extensions is determined by beginning with the extension closest to the verbal root and moving outwards. Consider the following example, using *dindulilwa*:

VERB	EXTENSION	VALENCE CHANGE	GLOSS	TRANSITIVITY
<i>diínda</i>	--	--	'close'	transitive
<i>diindúla</i>	separative -ul-	+0	'open'	transitive
<i>diindulíla</i>	applicative -il-	+1	'open for/with'	ditransitive
<i>dindulíilwa</i>	passive -w-	-1	'be opened for/with'	transitive

Table 7.3 Verbal valence in a verb with multiple derivational extensions

It is impossible to combine two valence-decreasing operations on a single verb. Either both extensions must be valence-increasing (applicative and causative) or one must be valence-increasing and the other valence-decreasing. The following paragraphs discuss the various ways in which verbal extensions may be combined together and the resulting effect on verbal valence.

There are only two types of valence-increasing extensions—the applicative and the causative. These two extensions can be combined. Several examples are given below:

- (74) *Umulími*            *itovelédza*            *iséénga*            *dzaahwe*.  
u-mu-limi            i-tov-il-idz-a            i-seenga            dzi-aahwe  
AUG.1-CL1-farmer   CL1-hit-APPL-CAUS-FV   AUG.10-cow   CL10-3SG.POSS  
'The farmer is making his cows fight.'
- (75) *Umwéénda*            *úgu*            *guhunogelédza?*  
u-mu-enda            úgu            gu-hu-nog-il-idz-a  
AUG.3-CL3-cloth   PROX.DEM.3   CL3-2SG.OBJ-be.pleasing-APPL-CAUS-FV  
'Do you like this cloth?' (lit. 'Does this cloth please you?')

It is also possible to combine a valence-increasing extension (applicative or causative) with one which is valence-decreasing (passive or reciprocal). (The fourth type of valence-decreasing operation, the stative, cannot be combined with any valence-

increasing operations.) Below are two examples of combinations of valence-increasing and -decreasing extensions:

(76) Applicative + Passive

<i>Umwáána</i>	<i>atelehlíwe</i>	<i>ihyahúliya</i>	<i>nuyúúva.</i>
u-mu-ana	a-teleh-el-w-ile	i-hi-ahúliya	na=u-yúúva
AUG.1-CL1-child	CL1-cook-APPL-PASS-FV	AUG.7-CL7-food	and=AUG.1-mother

‘The child was cooked food by Mother.’

(77) Causative + Passive

<i>Ilibihi</i>	<i>ligwíswa</i>	<i>hiláwo.</i>
i-li-bihi	li-gw-is-w-a	hiláwo
AUG.5-CL5-tree	CL5-fall-CAUS-PASS-FV	tomorrow

‘The tree will be felled tomorrow.’

#### 7.1.4 Copular clauses

The copula *li* can be used to introduce a number of different types of predicates. It

can be used to link two NPs in a predicate nominal construction:

- (78) *Unééne*      *ndili*      *Mubéna.*  
u-neene      ndi-li      mu-bena  
AUG-1SG.PRO   1SG-COP   CL1-Bena  
‘I am a Bena person.’

More commonly, however, in the present tense, there is no copula, as in the following examples:

- (79) *Udááda*      *váangu*      *mulími.*  
u-daada      va-angu      mu-limi  
AUG.1-father   CL1-1SG.POSS   CL1-farmer  
‘My father is a farmer.’

- (80) *Umwáána*      *mútaali.*  
u-mu-ana      mu-taali  
AUG.1-CL1-child   CL1-tall  
‘The child is tall.’

Example (80) shows an adjective occurring as a predicate. With predicate adjectives, when there is no copula, two different interpretations are possible. Either the adjective is serving as a predicate or the adjective is modifying the head noun as part of an NP. For example (80), the first option (adjective as predicate) results in the interpretation “the child is tall” where the second option (adjective modifying the head noun) would be “the tall child”. (Conflicting possible interpretations would be disambiguated by the discourse context.)

The copula is required in non-present tenses, as illustrated below:

- (81) *Udááda váángu aali mulimi.*  
 u-daada va-angu a-aa-li mu-limi  
 AUG.1-father CL1-1SG.POSS CL1-P4-COP CL1-farmer  
 ‘My father was a farmer.’

In addition to predicate nominals, a number of other types of predicates can occur in copular constructions. These include adjectives (as in example (82)), quantifiers (83), possessors (84), associative constructions (79), locatives (86), and interrogatives (87):

- (82) *Pahúva umúkila gwaahwe gwaali mútaali, swe.*  
 pahuva u-mu-kila gu-ahwe gu-aa-li mu-taali INTENS  
 because AUG.CL3-CL3-tail CL3-3SG.POSS CL3-P4-COP CL3-long truly  
 ‘Because his tail was really long.’

(08Oct17b, *The Hyena and the Hare*, line 056)

- (83) *Tili vólofu hiilo, huliho pahátaali.*  
 ti-li va-olofu hiilo huliho pa-hataali  
 1PL-COP CL2-many very than CL16-long.ago  
 ‘We are very many (there are very many of us), (more) than long ago.’

(08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 070)

- (84) *Unyeenye vóónda muli váángu.*  
 u-nyeenye va-onda mu-li va-angu  
 AUG-2PL.PRO CL2-all CL2-COP CL2-1SG.POSS  
 ‘You all are mine.’  
 (08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many: CM*, line 056)
- (85) *Uwutámwa úwu, nde wuhaali wa húpona, ípona*  
 u-wu-tamwa uwu nde wu-haa-li wa hu-pon-a a-i-pon-a  
 AUG.14-CL14- PROX. if CL14-P<sub>3</sub>-COP ASSOC.14 CL15-heal-FV CL1-PRES-heal-FV  
 sick DEM.14  
 ‘This disease, if it was of healing (healable), s/he got better.’  
 (08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 007)
- (86) *Pe tili hwídugala...*  
 pe ti-li hu-idugala  
 when 1PL-COP CL17-Kidugala  
 ‘When we were at Kidugala...’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 118)
- (87) *Ve, ndzogolo, uhaali hwiiya?*  
 ve N-dzogolo u-haa-li hwiiya  
 2SG.PRO CL9-rooster 2SG-P<sub>3</sub>-COP where  
 ‘You, rooster, where were you?’  
 (08Sept17b, *The Rooster and the Mongoose*, line 004)

It is also possible to link two NPs in predicate nominal constructions using a relative pronoun.<sup>9</sup> Such constructions are verbless, and occur only in the present:

- (88) *Udááda váángu ye mulími.*  
 u-daada va-angu ye mu-limi  
 AUG.1-father CL1-1SG.POSS REL.1 CL1-farmer  
 ‘My father was a farmer.’

<sup>9</sup> It is possible that the relative pronoun is grammaticalizing into some sort of focus marker. In addition to relative clauses, the relative pronoun is used in copular constructions such as these as well as in cleft constructions (7.2.6.1) and in certain types of content questions (7.1.7.2). Givón (1975) notes that focus constructions in Bantu commonly grammaticalize from historical clefts. This is an area worth investigating further in Bena.

- (89) *Úwo we uwugímbi wúkoso.*  
 úwo we u-wu-gimbi wu-koso  
 MED.DEM REL.14 AUG.14-CL14-beer CL14-strong  
 ‘This is strong beer.’

(08Oct06a, *Bena Riddles*, line 034)

As with the copula *li*, relative pronouns can be used when the predicate is composed of words from other classes. These include adjectives (90), associative constructions (91), demonstratives, (92), and possessors (93).

- (90) *Pahúva umwééne ye mukómi.*  
 pahuva u-mwééne ye mu-kómi  
 because AUG.1-CL1.PRO REL.1 CL1-big  
 ‘Because he is big.’

(08Oct02a, *LN's Life Story*, line 033)

- (91) *Íyo ye ya wúvili.*  
 íyo ye ya wu-vili  
 MED.DEM.9 REL.9 ASSOC.9 CL14-two  
 ‘This one is the second (one).’

(08Oct06a, *Bena Riddles*, line 08)

- (92) *Yááni ihisáándzi hye thi ápa*  
 yááni i-hi-sandzi hye íhi ápa  
 that.is AUG.7-CL7-grain.bin REL.7 PROX.DEM.7 PROX.DEM.16  
 ‘That is, the grain bin is this, here.’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 097)

- (93) *Nehe atíge úuyu ye vaahwe.*  
 nehe a-tig-e úyu ye va-ahwe  
 then CL1-say-FV PROX.DEM.1 REL.1 CL1-3SG.POSS  
 ‘Then he said this one is his (wife).’

(08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 008)



### 7.1.5 Existentials

There are three different ways in which existentials can be formed in Bena. The first two strategies use existential verb; the third strategy uses the copula prefixed with a locative subject marker. Each strategy is described below.

Bena existentials can be expressed using an existential verb. Formation of the existential verb is described in 5.2.7.5. Existential verbs have no overt subject. The subject marker is one of the three locative classes. The existential verb occurs first, followed by the noun whose existence is being predicated, as in (94):

- (94) *Pooyoli*                      *UNguluvi.*  
       pa-oyoli                      U-nguluvi  
       CL16-EXIST.CL1          AUG.1-god  
       ‘There is a God.’

Because the existential verb takes as its subject one of the locative classes, when it is being used in a construction describing the location of an entity, it is not necessary to state the location explicitly. In the following examples, the speaker is asking whether a person (in this case a teacher) is here. It is not necessary to state the word “here” because that information is conveyed by use of the Class 16 (definite, close proximity) locative prefix.

- (95) a. *Umuwulanidzi*      *pooyoli?*  
       u-mu-wulanidzi      pa-oyoli  
       AUG.1-CL1-teacher    CL16-EXIST.CL1  
       ‘Is the teacher here?’
- b. *Ee, pooyoli.*  
       ee pa-oyoli  
       yes CL16-EXIST.CL1  
       ‘Yes, s/he is here.’

- c. *Hata, sipooyoli.*  
 hata si-pa-oyoli  
 no NEG-CL16-EXIST.CL1  
 ‘No, s/he isn’t here.’

When the existential verb has a Class 17 prefix, the meaning is further away or more indefinite. Class 18, in contrast, indicates a location “inside”. Compare the following examples with (95) above, where the only difference is in the noun class of the subject prefix:

- (96) *Umuwulanidzi hooyoli?*  
 u-mu-wulanidzi hu-oyoli  
 AUG.1-CL1-teacher CL17-EXIST.CL1  
 ‘Is the teacher there?’

- (97) *Umuwulanidzi mooyoli?*  
 u-mu-wulanidzi mu-oyoli  
 AUG.1-CL1-teacher CL18-EXIST.CL1  
 ‘Is the teacher inside?’

It is also possible to state the location explicitly, as in (98):

- (98) *Amabíhi poogáli ápa.*  
 a-ma-bíhi pa-ogali apa  
 AUG.6-CL6-tree CL16-EXIST.6 here  
 ‘There are trees here.’

Bena existentials can also be formed using the existential verb *huna*. When the existence of an entity is predicated, the verb has a Class 17 subject prefix (*hu-*):

- (99) *Huna madége méélu mólofu.*  
 hu-na ma-dege ma-elu ma-olofu  
 CL17-EXIST CL6-bird CL6-white CL6-many  
 ‘There are many white birds.’

(08Oct06a, Bena Riddles, line 054)

- (100) *Vabéna vihwaamini uhutigíla **huna** wúhavi.*  
 va-bena va-i-huwamini uhutigíla hu-na wu-havi  
 CL2-bena CL2-PRES-believe COMP CL17-EXIST CL14-witch  
 ‘The Bena believe that there is witchcraft.’

(08Oct03b, *Bena Music*, line 015)

Existentials can also be formed by using the copula *li* prefixed with one of the locative class subject markers (Class 16, 17, or 18). Choice of class marker adds additional information about location.<sup>10</sup> In this strategy there are usually two clauses. The first clause is the copular clause which predicates the existence of the object (the introduced participant). In the second clause, the introduced participant is the subject.

- (101) ***Pali** hágogolo piviindi ápo, híihona amatééfu mánofu.*  
 pa-li ha-gogolo pa-i-vindi apo ha-i-hon-a a-ma-teefu ma-nofu  
 CL16-COP CL12-elder CL16-PRES- here CL12-PRES- AUG.6-CL6- CL6-good  
 valley sew-FV mat  
 ‘There’s a little old man here in the valley, he weaves good mats.’

(08Oct06a, *Riddles*, line 024)

- (102) ***Huli** lilúgu lya mákeeheva, gihwáádza gíínyila.*  
 hu-li li-lugu li-a ma-keeheva ga-i-hu-adza-a ga-i-nyil-a  
 CL17-COP CL5-group CL5-ASSOC CL6-fox CL6-PRES-E-come-FV CL6-PRES-  
 run-FV

‘There’s a group of foxes; they’re coming running.’

(08Sept17b, *The Rooster and the Mongoose: Version 1*, line 016)

### 7.1.6 Commands

<sup>10</sup> As shown in 4.1.1.10, Class 16 is used with locations that are either proximal or precise in reference. Class 17 is either more distal or less precise. Class 18 is used for ‘in’ or ‘inside’.

Commands in Bena are formed using either the imperative form of a verb or the subjunctive. The imperative form is only used for second person singular; other persons must use the subjunctive to form commands. Even with second person singular, the subjunctive is more commonly used in commands as it is seen to be more polite. Verbal morphology of the imperative is described in 5.2.5.11.1; the subjunctive is described in 5.2.5.11.2. Word order of commands is the same as declaratives. Several examples of commands are given below:

- (103) *Kuunga umóoto!*  
 kung-a u-mu-oto  
 light-FV AUG.3-CL3-fire  
 ‘Light the fire!’

(08Sept01b, *The Hare and the Pheasant*, Version I: line 014)

- (104) *Mubíte!*  
 mu-bit-e  
 2PL-go-FV  
 ‘(y’all) Go!’

- (105) *Tugóne!*  
 tu-gon-e  
 1PL-sleep-FV  
 ‘Let’s sleep!’

- (106) *Umútove!*  
 u-mú-tov-e  
 2SG-CL1.OBJ-hit-FV  
 ‘Hit him/her!’

When two commands occur in the same construction, both verbs are subjunctive:

- (107) *Mwáádze múmate nililóongo.*  
 mu-adz-e mu-N-mat-e na=i-li-loongo  
 2PL-come-FV 2PL-1SG.OBJ-cover-FV and=AUG.5-CL5-dirt  
 ‘Come, cover me with dirt.’

(08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant*: Version 3, line 067)

- (108) *Líno, ubíte uhoongédze.*  
 lino u-bit-e u-hongedz-e  
 now 2SG-go-FV 2SG-thank-FV  
 ‘Now, go thank (them).’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 191)

Negative commands are formed by using the subjunctive form of the negative verb

*hutáána*, followed by a verbal infinitive:

- (109) *Mutaanáge uhúliya íng’iing’i ídzi.*  
 mu-taan-ag-e u-hu-liy-a i-ng’iing’i idzi  
 2PL-NEG-NARR-FV AUG.15-CL15-eat-FV AUG.10-numbu PROX.DEM.10  
 ‘Don’t eat these numbu.’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Numbu*, line 005)

- (110) *Ve, ndzogolo, utaanáge uhúnyila.*  
 ve N-dzogolo u-taan-ag-e u-hu-nyil-a  
 2SG.PRO CL9-rooster 2SG-NEG-NARR-FV AUG.15-CL15-run-FV  
 ‘You, Rooster, don’t run.’

(08Oct06e, *The Rooster and the Mongoose: Version 2*, line 007)

### 7.1.7 Question formation

This section discusses the formation of both yes-no questions and content questions in Bena. Both types of questions have rising intonation sentence-finally. With yes-no questions, the intonation pattern is the only way that a question can be distinguished from a declarative. Content questions, in addition to containing interrogative intonation, make use of a series of interrogative words, which usually occur in situ.

#### 7.1.7.1 Yes-no questions

In Bena, yes-no questions do not use a special question particle or a different word order; instead yes-no questions are differentiated from statements with rising intonation. Consider the following two examples:

- (111) a.     *Wihelela*            *huligulilo*            neng'uni.  
               u-i-helel-a        hu=li-gulilo        neng'uni  
               2SG-PRES-go-FV CL17=CL5-market today  
               'You are going to the market today.'
- b.     *Wihelela*            *huligulilo*            neng'uni?  
                       u-i-helel-a        hu=li-gulilo        neng'uni  
                       2SG-PRES-go-FV CL17=CL5-market today  
                       'Are you going to the market today?'

(111a) is a declarative; (b) is a yes-no question. The only difference between the two is that (b) is spoken with rising intonation (indicated by the question mark), whereas in (a) the intonation is falling. Figure 7. below illustrates declarative intonation; Figure 7.2 shows rising intonation in a yes-no question.

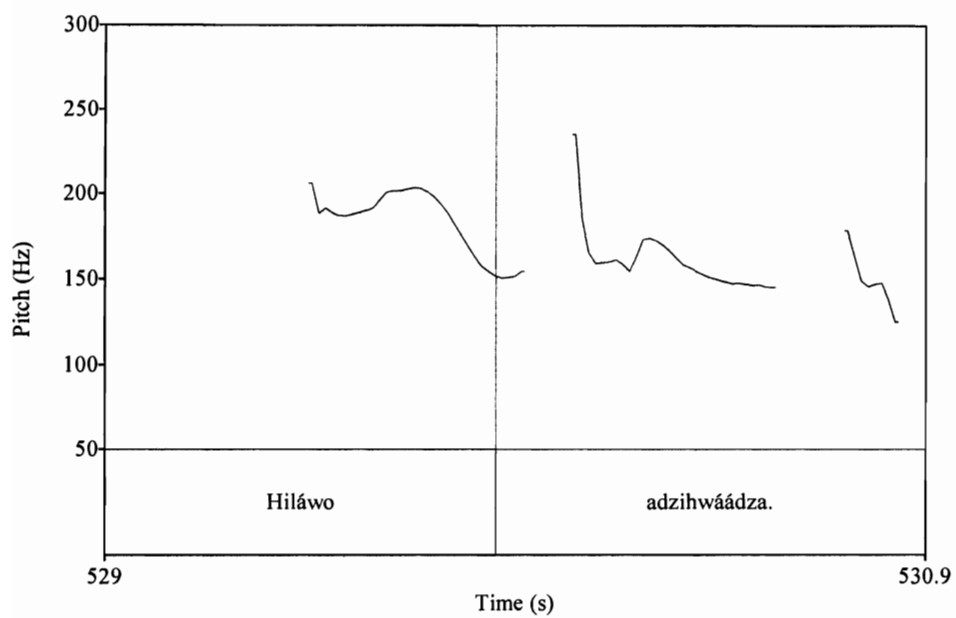


Figure 7.1 Declarative intonation: *Hiláwo adzihwáádza.* 'S/he is coming tomorrow.'

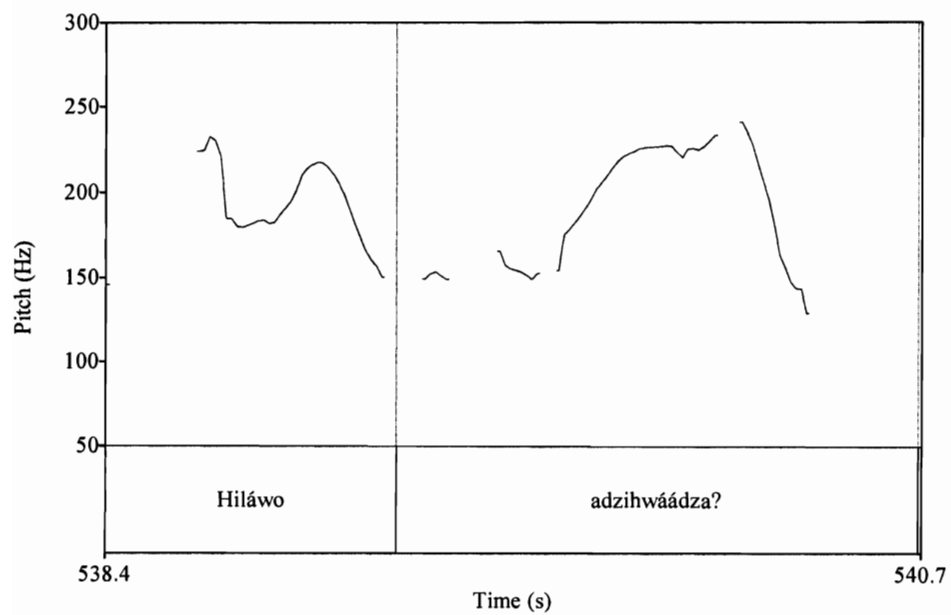


Figure 7.2 Yes-no question intonation. *Hiláwo adzihwáádza?* 'Is s/he coming tomorrow?'

In (111b) above, the expected response is affirmative. In yes-no questions expecting a negative response, a negated verb is used. This contrast is shown below (where the expected response to each question is given in *b*):

- (112) a.     *Adzihwáádza*               *hilawo?*  
               a-dzi-hu-adz-a           hilawo  
               CL1-F2-E-come-FV       tomorrow  
               ‘Is s/he coming tomorrow?’
- b.     *Ee, adzihwáádza.*  
                       ee a-dzi-hu-adz-a  
                       yes CL1-F2-E-come-FV  
                       ‘Yes, s/he is coming.’
- (113) a.     *Asidzihwáádza*               *hilawo?*  
               a-si-dzi-hu-adz-a           hilawo  
               CL1-NEG-F2-E-come-FV       tomorrow  
               ‘S/he isn’t coming tomorrow?’
- b.     *Hata, asidzihwáádza.*  
                       hata a-si-dzi-hu-adz-a  
                       no CL1-NEG-F2-E-come-FV  
                       ‘No, s/he isn’t coming.’

Bena does not have a separate strategy for forming tag questions, although due to the influence of Swahili, the Swahili word *siyo* “is it not” can be used sentence-finally to form a tag question. In these constructions, a normal declarative is stated (using normal, falling, declarative intonation), followed by the tag *siyo* (with falling intonation):

- (114) a.     *Adzihwáádza*               *hilawo,*        *siyo?*  
               a-dzi-hu-adz-a           hilawo        siyo  
               CL1-F2-E-come-FV       tomorrow     Q  
               ‘S/he is coming tomorrow, isn’t s/he?’



- b. *Ee, adzihwáádza.*  
 ee a-dzi-hu-adz-a  
 yes CL1-F2-E-come-FV  
 'Yes, s/he is coming.'

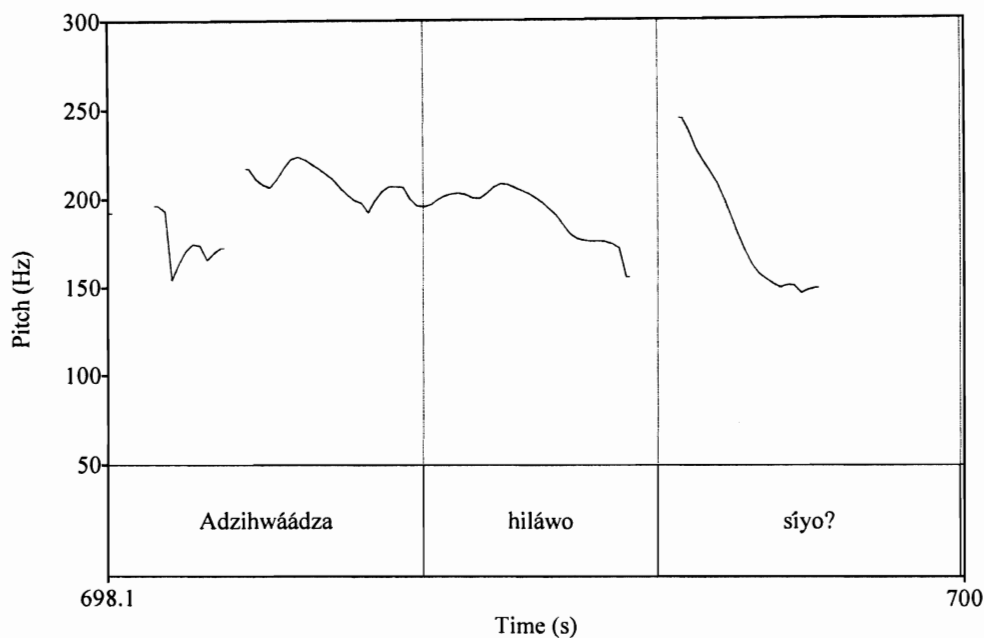


Figure 7.3 Tag question intonation. *Adzihwáádza hiláwo, síyo?* 'S/he is coming tomorrow, isn't s/he?'

#### 7.1.7.2 Content questions

Content questions are usually formed by placing a question word in situ. In certain pragmatically marked constructions, such as focus constructions, the question word may be fronted. As with yes-no questions, content questions have rising intonation. Most question words are uninflected, with the exception of *-hi* 'which' and *-linga* 'how many', both of which are nominal modifiers. Inflected question words are described in

4.2.6.6; 6.3 discusses uninflected question words. All Bena question words found in the corpus are listed below:

QUESTION WORD	GLOSS	QUESTION WORD	GLOSS
<i>-hi</i>	‘which?’	<i>hwííya/hwíí</i>	‘where?’
<i>-línga</i>	‘how many?’	<i>wulíwuli/wúli</i>	‘how?’
<i>nááni</i>	‘who?’	<i>hwe híhi</i>	‘why?’
<i>híhi</i>	‘what?’	<i>hya híhi</i>	‘why?’
<i>ndáli</i>	‘when?’	<i>hye híhi</i>	‘why?’
<i>paníli</i>	‘when?’		

Table 7.4 Bena question words

Question words can be divided into four groups, based on the types of constituents which they question. The first group consists of question words (*-hi* ‘which’ and *-línga* ‘how many’) which behave as nominal modifiers (and therefore inflect for the noun class of the noun which they question). The second group of question words (*nááni* ‘who’ and *híhi* ‘what’) questions noun phrases and verb phrases (either arguments or adjuncts). Third are the oblique question words *ndáli/paníli* ‘when’ and *hwííya* ‘where’. Finally, *wulíwuli* ‘how’ and *hwe híhi* ‘why’ question clauses. The following sections discuss each type of question in greater detail.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Questions containing multiple question words (i.e., “Who did what?”) were rejected by consultants as ungrammatical; therefore it seems likely that multiple interrogative questions do not exist in Bena.

## 7.1.7.2.1 Which?

The inflected interrogative *-hi* translates as “which?”. It behaves as a nominal modifier; therefore it immediately follows the noun which is being questioned and is inflected with the noun class prefix of the head noun.

- (115) a. Hare: “*Típele amatáwa mápya.*”  
 ti-i-pel-e a-ma-tawa ma-pya  
 1PL-REFL-give-FV AUG.5-CL5-name CL5-new  
 “Let’s give ourselves new names.”

- b. Hyena: “*Ee, matáwa máhi?*”  
 ee ma-tawa ma-hi  
 yes CL5-name CL5-which  
 “Okay, which names?”

(08Sept01d, the Hare and the Hyena, lines 038 and 040)

- (116) a. *Nehe usuungúla atigiláge, “Veya, ng’waale, tikinága umúkino.”*  
 nehe u-sungula a-tig-il-ag-e veyá N-kwaale ti-kin-ag-a u-mu-kino  
 then AUG.1-hare CL1-say-APPL- hey CL9-pheasant 1PL-play- AUG.3-CL3-  
 NARR-FV NARR-FV game  
 ‘Then Hare said, “Hey, Pheasant, let’s play a game.”’

- b. *Nehe ung’waale atigiláge, “Mukino múhi?”*  
 nehe u-N-kwaale a-tig-il-ag-e mu-kino mu-hi  
 then AUG.1-CL9-pheasant CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV CL3-game CL3-which  
 ‘Then Pheasant said, “Which game?”’

(08Sept01b, The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 1, lines 004-005)

## 7.1.7.2.2 How many?

The inflected interrogative *-linga* questions quantity (‘how many?’/‘how much?’). It immediately follows the noun which it questions, and is inflected with the agreement class prefix of the head noun.

- (117) *Likaang'a limwínga, dzilávedza silííngi dzilíínga?*  
 li-kaang'a li-mwinga dzi-la-vedz-a silingi dzi-linga  
 CL5-egg CL5-one CL10-F3-be-FV shilling CL10-how.many  
 'One egg, how many shillings will it be (cost)?'

(08Oct02c, *The Price of Eggs*, line 027)

When no head noun is present, the type of thing/person being questioned can be inferred either from context or from the form of the agreement class prefix.

- (118) "Ve, yuuva, waatuholile, tuli *valíínga?*  
 ve yuuva u-aa-tu-hol-ile tu-li va-linga  
 2SG.PRO mother 2SG-P4-1PL.OBJ-give.birth-FV 1PL-COP CL2-how.many  
 'You, Mother, (when) you gave birth to us, how many (of us) were there?'"<sup>12</sup>

(08Oct06c, *Swamp Girl*, line 027)

- (119) *Vitígila, "Muléte ifilíínga?"*  
 va-i-tig-il-a mu-let-e i-fi-linga  
 CL2-PRES-say-APPL-FV 2PL-bring-FV AUG-CL8-how.many  
 'They say, "How many (things) did you bring?"'

(08Nov17c, *Bena Weddings*, line 118)

#### 7.1.7.2.3 Who?

Human<sup>13</sup> NPs can be questioned using the interrogative *nááni* 'who?'. *Nááni* can be used to question either arguments or adjuncts. When a human argument is questioned, *nááni* must occur in a relative clause or cleft construction. When a human subject NP is questioned, a cleft construction is used, as in (120):

- (120 a. *Umwáána íínyila.*  
 u-mu-ana a-i-nyil-a  
 AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-PRES-run-FV  
 'The child is running.'

<sup>12</sup> Here, the speaker is just discovering that he has a twin sister.

<sup>13</sup> Here "human" refers to humans and anthropomorphized animals.

- b. *Ye nááni ye ínyila?*  
 ye naani ye a-i-nyil-a  
 REL.1 who REL.1 CL1-PRES-run-FV  
 ‘Who is running?’ (‘Who is it who is running?’)

When a human object NP is questioned, *nááni* occurs within a relative clause:

- (121 a. *Wiwoombéla umwayúúva.*  
 u-i-womb-el-a u-mu-ayúúva  
 2SG-PRES-work-APPL-FV AUG.1-CL1-woman  
 ‘You are working for the woman.’
- b. *Wiwoombéla ye nááni?*  
 u-i-womb-el-a ye naani  
 2SG-PRES-work-APPL-FV REL.1 who  
 ‘For whom are you working?’

Normally, the question word occurs in situ, as in (120) and (121) above. However it is also possible to change the word order. When a subject NP is questioned in a focus construction and the order of subject and verb is reversed, *nááni* occurs in a relative clause:

- (122) *Ínyila ye nááni?*  
 a-i-nyil-a ye naani  
 CL1-PRES-run-FV REL.1 who  
 ‘Who is running?’

Questioned object NPs may be fronted, in order to focus the NP. When this happens, *nááni* occurs in a cleft construction (rather than in a relative clause):

- (123 *Ye nááni ye wiwoombéla?*  
 ye naani ye u-i-womb-el-a  
 REL.1 who REL.1 2SG-PRES-work-APPL-FV  
 ‘For whom are you working?’ (‘Who is It that you are working for?’)

Therefore when *nááni* occurs pre-verbally, regardless of whether it is a subject or object NP which is being questioned, a cleft construction is used; post-verbally, *nááni* occurs in a relative clause.

Human NPs that are not arguments are not questioned using relative clauses or cleft constructions because adjuncts such as these cannot be relativized or clefted. Human adjuncts are questioned using the interrogative pronoun *nááni* ‘who’:

- (124) *Ahaahelé nundáni?*  
 a-haa-hel-e na=u-naani  
 CL1-P4-go-FV and=AUG.1-who  
 ‘Whom did s/he go with?’

- (125) *Usuungúla iwuudzága, “Ve, mwáána, hyahúliya hya nááni íhi?*  
 u-sungula i-wuudz-ag-a ve mu-ana hi-ahuliya hi-a naani íhi  
 AUG.1-hare CL1-ask- 2SG.PRO CL1-child CL7-food CL7- who PROX.DEM.  
 NARR-FV ASSOC 7  
 ‘Hare asked, “You, child, whose food is this?”’

(08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*, line 056)

#### 7.1.7.2.4 What?

‘What’ questions use the interrogative *hihi*, which is actually the Class 7 form of the inflected interrogative *-hi* ‘which’ and therefore can more literally be translated ‘which thing’. *Hihi* behaves similarly to *nááni* ‘who’. *Hihi* can question any non-human NP and usually occurs in situ, as the following examples show:

- (126 a. *Ahaaliye uwugáli.*  
 a-haa-liy-e u-wu-gali  
 CL1-P3-eat-FV AUG.14.CL14-porridge  
 ‘S/he ate porridge.’

- b. *Ahaaliye*      ***hihi?***  
 a-haa-liy-e      hihi  
 CL1-P3-eat-FV      what  
 ‘What did s/he eat?’

- (127 a. *Ahaaliye*      *uwugáli.*      ***nihítho.***  
 a-haa-liy-e      u-wu-gali      na=i-hi-ho  
 CL1-P3-eat-FV      AUG.14.CL14-porridge      and=AUG.7-CL7-spoon  
 ‘S/he ate porridge with a spoon.’

- b. *Ahaaliye*      *uwugáli.*      ***nihíhi?***  
 a-haa-liy-e      u-wu-gali      na =i-hihi  
 CL1-P3-eat-FV      AUG.14.CL14-porridge      and=AUG.7-what  
 ‘What did s/he eat the porridge with?’

When a subject NP is questioned, *hihi* triggers Class 7 concord:

- (128 *Hihi*      ***hígwe?***  
 hihi      hi-gw-e  
 what      CL7-fall-FV  
 ‘What fell?’

The order of the question word and the verb can also be reversed, as shown below:

- (129 *Hígwe*      ***hihi?***  
 hi-gw-e      hihi  
 CL7-fall-FV      what  
 ‘What fell?’

At this point it is unclear what the difference in meaning is between the two possible orderings of the question word and verb shown in (128) and (129).

Unlike the interrogative *nááni* ‘who’, *hihi* cannot be used in cleft constructions or in relative clauses with a ‘what’ interpretation. Most likely this is because the form that a relative clause of *hihi* would take is *hye hihi*, which is homophonous with the interrogative form for ‘why’. Consider (130):

- (130) *Ahaaliye*      *hye*      *hihi?*  
 a-haa-liy-e      hye      hihi  
 CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-eat-FV   REL.7   what  
 ‘Why did s/he eat?’  
 (impossible: ‘What did s/he eat?’)

In (130) the possible interpretation of *hye hihi* as ‘why’ rules out interpretation of *hye hihi* as a relative clause form of ‘what’.

#### 7.1.7.2.5 When?

There are three oblique question words in Bena: *ndáli* and *paníli* ‘when’ and *hwííya* ‘where’. These replace adverbial clauses. Temporal questions are formed using the interrogatives *ndáli* and *paníli*, both of which are translated ‘when?’. *Ndáli* and *paníli* occur in situ, as in the following examples:<sup>14</sup>

- (131) a. *Uhaafihile*      *igólo.*  
 u-haa-fih-ile      yesterday  
 2SG-P<sub>3</sub>-arrive-FV   yesterday  
 ‘You arrived yesterday.’
- b. *Uhaafihile*      *ndáli?*  
 u-haa-fih-ile      ndali  
 2SG-P<sub>3</sub>-arrive-FV   when  
 ‘When did you arrive?’
- (132) a. *Ihwáádza*      *hiláwo.*  
 i-hu-adz-a      hiláwo  
 CL1-E-come-FV   tomorrow  
 ‘S/he is coming tomorrow.’

<sup>14</sup> Though (131) is in the past and (132) is in the future, it should not be inferred from these examples that *ndáli* is used in the past and *paníli* in the future. *Ndáli* and *paníli* are interchangeable in these examples. It is unclear at this point what the difference is between these two interrogatives.



- b. *Ihwáádza*                      *panlí?*  
       i-hu-adz-a                    panili  
       CL1-E-come-FV              when  
       ‘When is s/he coming?’

The interrogative ‘when’ can also occur clause-initially (as is typical for temporal adverbs):

- (133) *Panlí*    *ihwáádza?*  
       panili    i-hu-adz-a  
       when    CL1-E-come-FV  
       ‘When is s/he coming?’

When the interrogative ‘when’ occurs clause-initially, it can also occur in a cleft construction, as below:

- (134) *Pe*            *panlí*    *pe*            *ihwáádza?*  
       pe            panili    pe            i-hu-adz-a  
       REL.CL16    when    REL.CL16    CL1-E-come-FV  
       ‘When is it when s/he coming?’

#### 7.1.7.2.6 Where?

Locations are questioned using the interrogative *hwíiya* (or its shortened form *hwíi*). As with the temporal interrogatives *ndáli* and *panlí* ‘when’, *hwíiya* usually occurs in situ:

- (135) *Líno,*    *usuungúla*    *ali*            *hwíiya?*  
       lino    u-sungula    a-li            hwíiya  
       now    AUG.1-hare    CL1-COP    where  
       ‘Now, where is the hare?’

(08Oct17b, *The Hyena and the Hare*, line 050)

- (136) *Máángogo gáángu, ahéle nágo hwííya?*  
 ma-ngogo ga-angu a-hel-e nago hwiiya  
 CL6-peanut CL6-1SG.POSS CL1-go-FV with.CL6 where  
 ‘My peanuts, where did he go with them?’

(08Oct17b, *The Hyena and the Hare*, line 019)

Like location adverbials, *hwííya* can also be fronted (though this is rare):

- (137) a. *Wihikála hwííya?*  
 u-i-hikal-a hwiiya  
 2SG-PRES-live-FV where  
 ‘Where do you live?’
- b. *Hwííya wihikála?*  
 hwiiya u-i-hikal-a  
 where 2SG-PRES-live-FV  
 ‘What is s/he eating the ugali with?’

When *hwííya* is fronted, it can also occur within a cleft construction:

- (138) a. *Hwe hwííya hwe wihikála?*  
 hwe hwiiya hwe u-i-hikal-a  
 REL.CL17 where REL.CL17 2SG-PRES-live-FV  
 ‘Where is it where you live?’

#### 7.1.7.2.7 How?

The interrogative *wulíwuli* (or its shortened form *wuli*) is used to ask “how?”. It must immediately follow the verb which it questions; placing *wulíwuli* anywhere except immediately following the verb renders the sentence ungrammatical (shown in (b) and (c)):

- (139) a. *Uwugáli*                      *wisáánga*                      ***wulíwuli?***  
           u-wu-gali                      u-i-sang-a                      wuliwuli  
           AUG.14.CL14-ugali 2SG-PRES-make.ugali-FV    how  
           ‘How do you make ugali?’
- b. \**Wisáánga*                      *uwugáli*                      ***wulíwuli?***  
       c. \****Wulíwuli***                      *uwugáli*                      *wisáánga?*

*Wuli* is the shortened form of *wulíwuli*; its meaning is identical, and *wuli* and *wulíwuli* can be used interchangeably without changing the meaning of the sentence. Several more examples of *wuli* and *wulíwuli* are given below:

- (140) *Ndihútaange*                      ***wuli?***  
           ndi-hu-tang-e                      wuli  
           1SG-2SG.OBJ-help-FV    how  
           ‘How shall I help you?’  
(08Oct16c, Prodigal Son, line 218)
- (141) *Nde ndíbita*                      *ndihoongídze*                      ***wulíwuli?***  
           nde ndi-bit-a                      ndi-hongidz-e                      wuliwuli  
           if 1SG-go-FV 1SG-thank-FV    how  
           ‘If I go, how shall I thank them?’  
(08Oct16c, Prodigal Son, line 192)
- (142) *Líno, witigíla*                      ***wuli, muyáángu?***  
           lino u-i-tig-il-a                      wuli mu-yangu  
           now 2SG-PRES-say-APPL-FV    how CL1-my.companion  
           ‘Now, how do you speak (what do you say), my friend?’  
(08Oct16c, Prodigal Son, line 192)

### 7.1.7.2.8 Why?

There are three different interrogatives which can be used to ask “why?”: *hye hihí*, *hwe hihí*, and *hya hihí*. They are identical in meaning<sup>15</sup> but have slightly different syntactic distributions. *Hye hihí* occurs sentence-initially:

- (143) *Hye hihí ahaagitile ewo?*  
 hye hihi a-haa-git-ile ewo  
 why CL1-P3-do-FV thus  
 ‘Why did he do that?’

- (144) *Hye hihí higwe?*  
 hye hihi hi-gw-e  
 why CL7-fall-FV  
 ‘Why did it fall?’

Both *hwe hihí* and *hya hihí* occur sentence-finally:

- (145) *Uhaahelé huMbeya hwe hihí?*  
 u-haa-hel-e hu=Mbeya hwe hihi  
 2SG-P3-go-FV CL17=Mbeya why  
 ‘Why did you go to Mbeya?’

- (146) *Wisaha ihímaage hya hihí?*  
 u-i-sah-a i-hi-maage hya hihi  
 2SG-PRES-want-FV AUG.7-CL7-knife why  
 ‘Why do you want the knife?’

## 7.2 Complex clauses

### 7.2.1 Coordination

There are several strategies through which clauses may be coordinated in Bena.

These include juxtaposition (used in conjunctive and concessive coordination) and the

<sup>15</sup> It is likely that there is some nuance of meaning difference between the three; however at this point it is not clear what that might be. The only clear difference in the three is syntactic distribution, which is described here.

use of various coordinators, including *na* ‘and’, *lino* ‘but’, and *náámbe* ‘or’. It is also becoming quite common to use coordinators borrowed from Swahili—these include *au* ‘or’ and *lakini* ‘but’. The following sections discuss conjunctive coordination, disjunctive coordination, and concessive coordination.

### 7.2.1.1 Conjunctive coordination

Clause coordination is most commonly accomplished with juxtaposition of clauses. Several examples of clause coordination by juxtaposition are given in (147) through (149).

- (147) *Ínywa uwugímbi wúla, igála, igomóha húgona.*  
 a-i-nyw-a u-wu-gimbi wu-la i-gal-a i-gomoh-a hu-gon-a  
 CL1-PRES- AUG.14- CL15-DIST.DEM CL1-get.drunk- CL1-return-FV CL15-sleep-  
 drink-FV CL15-beer FV FV  
 ‘He drinks that beer, gets drunk, (and) returns home to sleep.’  
 (08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 020)

- (148) *Lwaamemíle, lwaakomíle aváánu vóónda.*  
 lu-aa-mem-ile lu-aa-kom-ile a-va-nu va-onda  
 CL11-P4-fill-FV CL11-P4-kill-FV AUG.2-CL2-person CL2-all  
 ‘It (the swamp) filled (and) killed all the people.’  
 (08Oct06c, *Swamp Girl*, line 056)

- (149) *Vahwípoha ungamusuungúla ahuvagwisa avayágwe.*  
 va-hu-i-poh-a u-ngamu-sungula a-hu-va-gw-is-a a-va-yagwe  
 CL2-E-REFL- AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-E-CL2.OBJ-fall-CAUS-FV AUG.2-CL2-  
 wrestle-FV companion  
 ‘They wrestle each other (and) Clever Hare fells his companions.’  
 (08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 038)

Intonation is falling at the end of each clause, and intonation breaks occur between each clause (breaks in intonation are indicated in each of the above examples with commas).

Figure 7.4 shows the pitch contour for example (147):

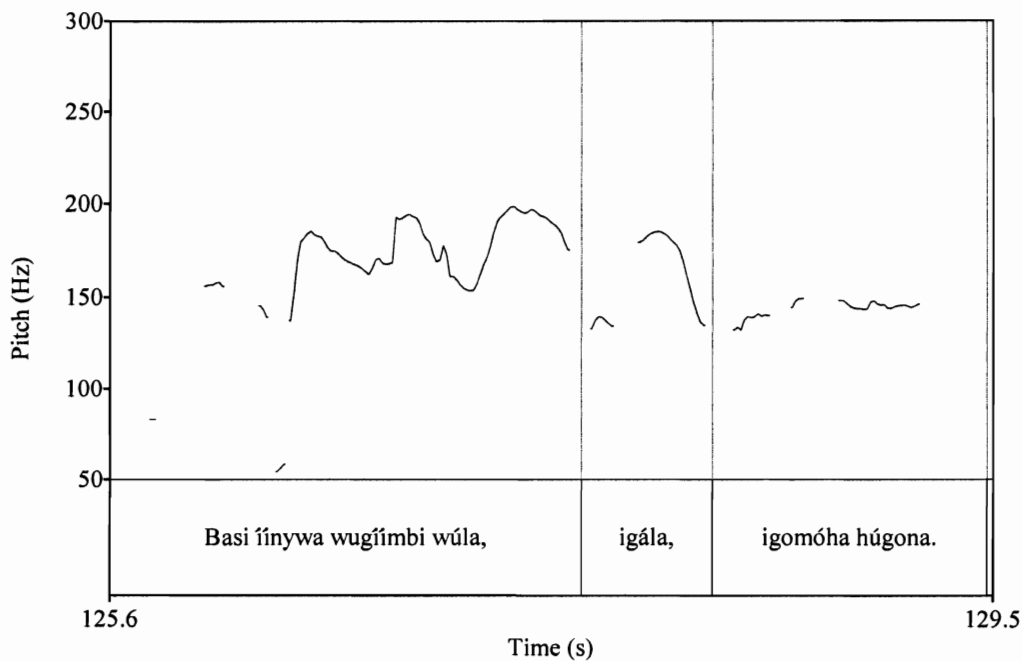


Figure 7.4 Pitch contour of clause coordination (example 147)

Conjunctive clause coordination can also be accomplished using the conjunction *na* ‘and’.

- (150) *Lehe tibitáge, na yuungi itegulága uwugáli, na yúúngi uwugáli.*  
 leh-e ti-bit-ag-e na yu-ngi i-tegul-ag-a u-wu-gali na yu-ngi u-wu-gali  
 leave 1PL-go- and CL1- CL1-take- AUG.14-CL14- and CL1- AUG.14-CL14-  
 -FV NARR-FV other NARR-FV porridge other porridge  
 ‘Let’s go and one will take (his) porridge and the other (his) porridge.’

(08Sept01d, *The Hare and the Hyena*, line 006)

- (151) “*Ve, Ng’wáále, uheléle ufiháme, na yúúne ndinyaanyága umóoto.*”  
 ve N-kwaale u-helel-e u-fiham-e na yuune ndi-nyaany-ag-a u-mu-oto  
 2SG.PRO CL9- 2SG-go- 2SG-hide- and 1SG.PRO 1SG-light-NARR- AUG.3-  
 pheasant FV FV FV CL3-fire  
 ‘You, Pheasant, go hide and I’ll light the fire.’

(08Sept11e, *The Hare and the Pheasant*, Version 2, line 015)

The conjunction *na* ‘and’ can also be used to coordinate other types of constituents. The following examples show coordination of nouns (152), verbs (153), and verb phrases

(154) (conjoined constituents are marked with square brackets):

- (152) *Íyo*                    *[ng’uhu]* *na**[mákaang’a]*.  
 iyo                    ng’uhu    na=ma-kaang’a  
 DEM.MED.9 chicken and=CL6-egg  
 ‘That one (riddle) is a chicken and eggs.’

(08Oct06a, Riddles, line 013)

- (153) *Tiváanga*        *[uhúlima]*                    *na*        *[huyála]*.  
 ti-vang-a        u-hu-lim-a                    na        hu-yal-a  
 1PL-begin-        AUG.15-CL15-farm-FV and        CL15-plant-FV  
 FV  
 ‘We begin to farm and to plant.’

(08Oct06h, Times of Planting, line 002)

- (154) *Ililaamba*    *lyaavaangile*    *[uhúmema]*    *nu**[húmela*        *ulútanana*        *lóónða]*.  
 i-li-lamba    li-aa-vang-ile    u-hu-mem-a    na=u-hu-mel-a    u-lu-tanana    lu-onda  
 AUG.5-        CL5-P4-begin-    AUG.15-CL15- and=AUG.15-        AUG.11-CL11- CL11-  
 CL5-        FV                    fill-FV                    CL15-swallow-FV savannah        whole  
 swamp  
 ‘The swamp began to fill and to swallow the whole savannah.’

(08Oct06c, Swamp Girl, line053)

### 7.2.1.2 Disjunctive coordination

The disjunctive coordinator in Bena is *naambi* ‘or’. It can be used to connect two or more of any of the same type of constituent (i.e., clauses, noun phrases, verb phrases, adjectives, etc.).

- (155) *[Wilola]*                    *naambi*    *[siwílola]*?  
 u-i-lol-a                    naambi    si-u-i-lol-a  
 2SG-PRES-see-FV or                    NEG-2SG-PRES-see-FV  
 ‘Do you see or do you not see?’

- (156) *Umwáána vááho [mútaali] naambi [mufúpi]?*  
 u-mu-ana va-aho mu-taali naambi mu-fupi  
 AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-2SG.POSS CL1-long or CL1-short  
 ‘Is your child tall or short?’
- (157) *Sihoowoli umúnya humúliya [umúyagwe],*  
 si-hoowoli u-mu-nya hu-mu-liy-a u-mu-yagwe  
 NEG-EXIST.17 AUG.1-CL1-having CL15-CL1.OBJ-eat-FV AUG.1-CL1-friend
- naambi [amadége], naambi [ifing’óho fya mudáási].*  
 naambi a-ma-dege naambi i-fi-ng’oho fi-a mu-daasi  
 or AUG.6-CL6-bird or AUG.8-CL8-animal CL8-ASSOC CL3-forest  
 ‘There (should) not be one eating his friend or birds or animals of the forest.’  
 (08Oct16e, *The Rooster and the Mongoose: Version 2, line 012*)

When more than two constituents are coordinated, it is not necessary to insert *naambi* between each one. Therefore (157) would also be grammatical if the first *naambi* were deleted.

### 7.2.1.3 Conjunctive coordination

The adverb *lino* ‘now’ can also be used as a conjunction ‘but’. This is illustrated in (158) through (160):

- (158) *Ngali ndigúlile amayáwo, lino ndili mugáya amafányi.*  
 ngali ndi-gul-ile a-ma-yawo lino ndi-li mu-gaya a-ma-fanyi  
 COND 1SG-buy-FV AUG.6-CL5- now 1SG-COP CL1-be.without AUG.6-CL6-  
 sweet.potato money  
 ‘I would buy sweet potatoes, but I have no money.’
- (159) *Wiwésa uhwiimba ihááte yáángu, lino upiluságe. hiláwo.*  
 u-i-wes-a u-hu-imb-a i-haate yi-angu lino u-pilus-ag-e hiláwo  
 2SG-PRES- AUG.15-CL15- AUG.9- CL9-1SG.POSS now 2SG-return- tomorrow  
 be.able-FV read-FV book NARR-FV  
 ‘You may read my book, but (you must) return (it) tomorrow.’



- (160) *Umwáána mútaali líno si mudútu.*  
 u-mu-ana mu-taali lino si mu-dutu  
 AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-long now NEG CL1-fat  
 ‘The child is tall but is not fat.’

It is unclear what exactly the relationship is between the two different uses of *lino* (‘now’ and ‘but’). However, it is clear that *lino* does not serve exclusively as a temporal adverb, as (159) crucially shows, where a ‘now’ reading of *lino* is impossible because of the temporal adverb *hiláwo* ‘tomorrow’.

Due to influence from Swahili, it is actually more common to use the Swahili conjunction *lakini* ‘but’ as in the following examples:

- (161) *Sina tífwá, lakini titaambúla tífwé pahúva uwutámwa wáádzile.*  
 sina ti-i-fw-a lakini ti-tamul-a ti-fw-e pahúva u-wu-tamwa u-aa-dz-ile  
 NEG 1PL-PRES- but 1PL-call- 1PL-die because AUG.14- CL14-come-FV  
 die-FV FV CL15-disease  
 ‘We haven’t died but we say we’ve died because disease has come.’  
 (08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 088)
- (162) *Ídziingi ndiséémwa. Ndiwésa ndizóva, lakini ídziingi ndiséémwa.*  
 i-dzi-ngi ndi-seemw-a ndi-wes-a ndi-dzov-a lakini i-dzi-ngi ndi-seemw-a  
 AUG.10- 1SG-forget- 1SG- 1SG-speak- but AUG.10- 1SG-forget-FV  
 CL10-other FV be.able-FV FV CL10-other  
 ‘Other things I’ve forgotten. I can speak, but I have forgotten other things.’  
 (08Oct16f, Taboos, line 001)

### 7.2.2 Adverbial clauses

Adverbial clauses in Bena are used to provide additional information about the time or place an event took place, the manner in which it was done, or the reason or purpose for the event. Adverbial clauses can take the form of relative clauses, infinitives, and fully finite clauses. There are very few subordinating conjunctions in Bena. They include *ngíta* ‘like, as’, *pahúva* ‘because’ and *nde* ‘if’. The following sections discuss the

different types of adverbial clauses in Bena and how they are formed. I discuss seven types of adverbial clauses: time, purpose, location, manner, reason, conditional, concessive. These categories arise from a typology of adverbial clauses proposed by Thompson and Longacre (1985).<sup>16</sup>

### 7.2.2.1 Time

There are several different strategies which can be used to express temporal ‘when’ clauses. The first of these utilizes the Class 16 relative pronoun *pe* ‘when’ followed by a finite clause:<sup>17</sup>

- (163) *Lino [pe ndibita húlima], ndanditegúla inyééngo, ipáánga niligimilo.*  
 lino pe ndi-bit-a hu-lim-a ndi-a-ndi-tegúl-a i-nyengo i-panga na=i-li-gimilo  
 now REL 1SG-go- CL15- 1SG-HAB-1SG- AUG.9- AUG.9- and=AUG.5-  
 . 16 FV farm-fv take-FV sickle machete CL5-hoe  
 ‘Now when I go to farm I always take a sickle, a machete, and a hoe.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 005)

- (164) [*Pe gidzuumbíle imyááha mólofu*], *avadiími viheléla*  
 pe gi-dzumb-ile i-mi-aha mi-olofu a-va-díími va-i-helel-a  
 REL.16 CL6-pass-FV AUG.4-CL4-year CL4-many AUG.2-CL2-boy CL2-PRES-go-FV  
  
*hukaláva huliláamba lila.*  
 hu-kalav-a hu-li-lamba lila  
 CL15-bathe-FV CL17-CL5-swamp DIST.DEM.5  
 ‘When many years had passed, (some) boys went to bathe in that swamp.’  
 (00Oct06c, *Swamp Girl*, line 006)

The auxiliary *adza* can also be used to express ‘when’:

<sup>16</sup> In addition to these seven types, Thompson and Longacre (1985) also discuss circumstantial, simultaneous, substitutive, additive, and absolutive adverbial clauses. The discussion presented in this chapter is limited to the types of adverbial clauses most relevant to Bena.

<sup>17</sup> As shown in (158), in temporal adverbial clauses the ordering of subject and verb is VS, rather than SV. See section 5.2.6 for a discussion of relativization strategies using relative pronouns and accompanying changes in word order.

- (169) [Ndihaáve ndifihile unééne], akáánile.  
 ndi-haa-ve ndi-fih-ile u-nééne a-káán-ile  
 1SG-P3-AUX 1SG-arrive-FV AUG.1-1SG.PRO CLI-refuse-FV  
 ‘When I arrived, he rejected (me).’  
 (08Oct16c, Prodigal Son, line 125)

The temporal notion of ‘since’ is expressed using the infinitival form of the verb *húma* ‘to come from’. In these constructions the embedded clause is a fully finite declarative clause:

- (170) *Ndifiwééne fínu fye ndisina ndifiwonága [uhúhuma ndihólwa].*  
 ndi-fi-won-ile fi-nu fye ndi-sina ndi-fi-won-ag-a uhúhuma ndi-hol-w-a  
 1SG-CL8.OBJ- CL8- REL.8 1SG-NEG 1SG-CL8.OBJ- since 1SG-bear-PASS-  
 see-FV thing see-IPFV-FV FV  
 ‘I’ve seen things which I have never seen since I was born.’  
 (08Oct16f, *Taboos*, line 014)

The temporal notion of ‘before’ is expressed by following the relative pronoun *pe* ‘when’ with a negative auxiliary *sina*:

- (171) *Pe ndááli ndili múdebe, [pe sina ndíngila*  
 pe ndi-aa-li ndi-li mu-debe pe sina ndi-ing-il-a  
 REL.16 1SG-P4-be 1SG-be CL1-small REL.16 NEG 1SG-enter-APPL-FV  
  
*isúúle], uyúúva ahelelíge húlima.*  
 i-súúle u-yúúva a-hel-el-ag-ile hu-lim-a  
 AUG.9-school AUG.1-mother CL1-go-APPL-IPFV-FV CL15-farm-FV  
 ‘When I was small, before I entered school, Mother used to go farm.’  
 (08Oct01b, *Growing Up*, line 002)

### 7.2.2.2 Location

Adverbial clauses providing information about the location of an event take the form of relative clauses using one of the locative relative pronouns (Class 16, 17, or 18).

- (172) *Atíge, “Ahúmíle uhwéényo [hwe waahúmíle uvééve].”*  
 a-tig-e a-humil-e u-hu-éényo hu-e u-a-humil-e u-vééve  
 CL1-say- CL2-come. AUG.17-CL17- CL17-REL 2SG-P4-come.from-FV AUG.1-  
 FV from-FV 2PL.POSS 2SG.PRO  
 ‘He said, “She came from your (place) where you came from.”’  
 (08Oct16c, *The Prodigal Son*, line 065)

- (173) *Tivíiha      munyúúmba      [mwe      tígona].*  
 ti-viih-a      mu-nyumba      mwe      ti-gon-a  
 1PL-put-FV      CL18-house      REL.18      1PL-sleep-FV  
 ‘We put (it) in the house where we sleep.’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 128)

### 7.2.2.3 Purpose

Bena does not use any type of subordinating conjunction to express purpose.

Instead, purpose clauses are formed using either the infinitive or the subjunctive, as shown by the examples below:

- (174) *Tuhéle      hw'Ilinga      [hutoveléla      itéémбели].*  
 tu-hel-e      hu-Iringa      hu-tov-elel-a      i-tembeli  
 1PL-go-FV      CL17-Iringa      CL15-hit-APPL-FV      AUG.9-church  
 ‘We went to Iringa to build a church.’

(08Oct02a, *LN's Life Story*, line 021)

- (175) *Umuváha      vááho      ahúmíle      hukááye      [hwáádza      [husahúla      uvééve]].*  
 u-mu-vaha      va-aho      a-hum-ile      hu-kááye      hu-adz-a      hu-sahul-a      u-vééve  
 AUG.1-      CL1-      CL1-come.      CL17-      CL15-      CL15-search.      AUG.1-  
 CL1-parent      2SG.POSS      from-FV      house      come-FV      for-FV      2SG.PRO  
 ‘Your parent came from home to come to search for you.’

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 164)

- (176) *Ahuváleha      avaséhe      [veendeláge      na      mádzwi      gánavo].*  
 a-hu-va-leh-a      a-va-sehe      va-endel-ag-e      na      ma-dzwi      ga-navo  
 CL1-E-CL2.OBJ-      AUG.2-CL2-      CL2-continue-      and      CL6-word      CL6-CL2.POSS  
 leave-FV      parent      NARR-FV  
 ‘She leaves her parents so that they may continue with their discussion.’

(08Nov17c, *Bena Weddings*, line 094)

### 7.2.2.4 Manner

There are several different ways in which manner adverbial clauses can be formed. First, a manner adverbial clause can be introduced by the subordinator *ngíta* ‘like, as’. The embedded clause is subjunctive:

- (177) *Lino, ilíngodofu lidóódo lilola wubáya kabisa*  
 lino i-li-ngodofu li-dóódo li-lol-a wu-baya kabisa  
 now AUG.5-CL5-frog CL5-small CL5-look-FV CL14-bad completely  
  
*hwa mwáána yúla [ngíta litóve haangi].*  
 hwa mu-ana yúla ngíta li-tov-e hangi  
 PREP CL1-child DIST.DEM.1 like CL5-hit-FV again  
 ‘How that small frog is staring extremely evilly at that child, like it’ll hit (him)  
 again.’

(08Nov06a, *One Frog Too Many*: CM, line 065)

*Ngíta* can also introduce a relative clause that uses the Class 7 relativizer *hye*.

- (178) *Lino, sitiwúunga [ngíta hye taawuungága pamútaló].*  
 lino si-ti-wung-a ntíta hye ti-aa-wung-ag-a pa-mútaló  
 now NEG-1PL-teach-FV like REL.7 1PL-P4-teach-NARR-FV CL16-long.ago  
 ‘Now we do not teach like we taught a long time ago.’  
 (08Oct02a, *LN's Life Story*, line 021)

It is also possible to use the subordinator *nde* (normally translated ‘if’) in adverbial clauses of manner. *Nde* is followed by a Class 7 relative clause:

- (179) *Haangi sivahwáánile [nde hye tihwáánile hweehwe].*  
 hangi si-va-hwáán-ile nde hye ti-hwáán-ile hweehwe  
 again NEG-CL2-resemble-FV if REL.7 1PL-resemble-FV 1PL.PRO  
 ‘Again they don’t resemble like we resemble (they don’t look like us).’  
 (08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 236)

#### 7.2.2.5 Reason

Adverbial clauses of reason are expressed using the conjunction *pahúva* ‘because’ followed by a finite clause. The adverbial clause may either precede (as in (180)) or follow (examples (181) and (182)) the main clause:

- (180) *Lino ifigóno ifi, [pahúva tili mwééne mujini], sitináfi fisáándzi.*  
 lino i-fi-gono ifi pahúva ti-li mu-ene mujini si-ti-na-fi fi-sandzi  
 now AUG.8- PROX. because 1PL- CL18-self town NEG-1PL- CL8-  
 CL8-day DEM.8 COP have-CL8 grain.bin  
 ‘Now these days, because we are in town, we don’t have grain bins.’  
 (08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 119)
- (181) *Lakini vóónda tílela, [pahúva UNgulúvi atúpee].*  
 lakini va-onda ti-lél-a pahúva U-nguluvi a-tu-pel-ile  
 but CL2-all 1PL-raise-FV because AUG.1-god CL1-1PL.OBJ-give-FV  
 ‘But all of them we raise because God gave us (them).’  
 (08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, lines 055-056)
- (182) *Silikina [pahúva lina mídela].*  
 si-li-kin-a pahúva li-na mi-dela  
 NEG-CL5-play-FV because CL5-have CL4-root  
 ‘It does not dance because it has roots.’  
 (08Oct06a, *Riddles*, line 043)

#### 7.2.2.6 Conditional

There are several different types of conditionals in Bena. Simple conditionals use the conditional conjunction *nde* ‘if’ at the beginning of the protasis (if clause). The apodosis (then clause) has no conjunction:

- (183) *[Nde wikáána] ndihúlya.*  
 nde u-i-kaan-a ndi-hu-ly-a  
 if 2SG-PRES-refuse-FV 2SG-2SG.OBJ-eat-FV  
 ‘If you refuse, I’ll eat you.’  
 (08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 028)

With the conditional, multiple orderings of subject, verb, and *nde* are possible, as shown by the following examples:

- (184) a. *[Nde yitóónye indonya] inéng’uni ndisigála pakááye.*  
 nde yi-tony-e i-N-donya i-neng’uni ndi-sigal-a pa-kááye  
 if CL9-rain-FV AUG.9-CL9-rain AUG.9-today 1SG-remain-FV CL16-house  
 ‘If it rains today I’ll remain at home.’

- b. *[Nde indonya yitóónye] inéng'uni ndisigála pakááye.*  
 nde i-N-donya yi-tony-e i-neng'uni ndi-sigal-a pa-kááye  
 if AUG.9-CL9-rain CL9-rain-FV AUG.9-today 1SG-remain-FV CL16-house  
 'If it rains today I'll remain at home.'
- c. *Ndonya, [nde yitóónye] inéng'uni, ndisigála pakááye.*  
 i-N-donya nde yi-tony-e i-neng'uni ndi-sigal-a pa-kááye  
 AUG.9-CL9-rain if CL9-rain-FV AUG.9-today 1SG-remain-FV CL16-house  
 'The rain, if it rains, I'll remain at home.'

Though the ordering of subordinate and main clause given in the examples above is by far the most common (all examples of conditionals in the corpus have the subordinate clause preceding the main clause), it is also grammatical to reverse the ordering of the two clauses, as shown below:

- (185) a. *[Nde aháádze hiláwo] ndidzihumúwona.*  
 nde a-aadz-e hilawo ndi-dzi-hu-mu-won-a  
 if CL1-come-FV tomorrow 1SG-F2-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV  
 'If s/he comes tomorrow, I'll see her/him.'
- b. *Ndidzihumúwona. [nde aháádze hiláwo].*  
 ndi-dzi-hu-mu-won-a nde a-aadz-e hilawo  
 1SG-F2-E-CL1.OBJ-see-FV if CL1-come-FV tomorrow  
 'I'll see her/him if s/he comes tomorrow.'

Hypothetical conditionals describe events that have the potential to happen, but have not been realized. In a hypothetical conditional, the protasis is introduced by the auxiliary *hali* 'would' and is given in the present indicative. The apodosis is subjunctive, and is preceded optionally by the auxiliary *hali*.

- (186) a. *[Hali ndihwáádza] [úmbuudzage].*  
 hali ndi-hu-adz-a u-N-wuudz-ag-e  
 would 2SG-E-come-FV 2SG-1SG.OBJ-ask-NARR-FV  
 'I would come if you were to ask me.'



- b. [*Hali ndihwáádza*]      [*hali úmbuudzage*].  
 hali ndi-hu-adz-a      hali u-N-wuudz-ag-e  
 would 2SG-E-come-FV      would 2SG-1SG.OBJ-ask-NARR-FV  
 ‘I would come if you were to ask me.’

It is likely that *hali* relates in some way to a speaker’s epistemic stance regarding the potentiality of a clause. However such nuanced differences in meaning are difficult to elicit, and at this point it is unclear what the precise difference in meaning is between clauses that contain *hali* and those that don’t.

There are two different types of counterfactual conditionals in Bena. In both types of counterfactuals, the apodosis describes an event that would have existed if the protasis were true. Both types of conditionals introduce the protasis with the conditional conjunction *hali*. The protasis always occurs in the subjunctive. The difference between the two types lies in the way in which the apodosis is formed. In the first type of counterfactual, the apodosis is introduced using the auxiliary *hali* and occurs in the present tense:

- (187) *Índonye háli yitóónye igólo*], [*hali ndisigála pakááye.*]  
 i-N-donye hali yi-tony-e igólo hali ndi-sigal-a pa-kááye  
 AUG.9-CL9-rain would CL9-rain-FV yesterday would 1SG-remain-FV CL16-house  
 ‘If it had rained yesterday I would have stayed home.’
- (188) *Umwáána háli aveembááge*, [*siháli ndihumupééla ilídživa.*]  
 u-mu-ana hali a-vemb-ag-ile si-hali ndi-hu-mu-peel-a i-li-dživa  
 AUG.1- would CL1-cry-IPFV-FV NEG-would 1SG-E-CL1.OBJ- AUG.5-CL5-milk  
 CL1-child give-FV  
 ‘If the child had cried, I wouldn’t have given him/her milk.’

The auxiliary *hali* in the apodosis can either precede or follow the subject, as shown by the following examples:

- (189) a. *Umwáána hali ayáádze ing'ólo, [hali udaadé ahumútova].*  
 u-mu-ana hali a-yag-i-ile i-ng'olo hali u-daad-é a-hu-mu-tov-a  
 AUG.1-CL1- would CL1-lose- AUG.9- would AUG.1-father. CL1-E-CL1.OBJ-  
 child CAUS-FV sheep 3SG.POSS hit-FV  
 'If the child had lost the sheep, his father would have hit him.'
- (190) b. *Umwáána hali ayáádze ing'ólo, [udaadé hali ahumútova].*  
 u-mu-ana hali a-yag-i-ile i-ng'olo u-daad-é hali a-hu-mu-tov-a  
 AUG.1-CL1- would CL1-lose- AUG.9- AUG.1-father. would CL1-E-  
 child CAUS-FV sheep 3SG.POSS CL1.OBJ-hit-FV  
 'If the child had lost the sheep, his father would have hit him.'

In the second type of counterfactual, the apodosis is introduced by the conjunction *ngali* and occurs in a past tense:<sup>18</sup>

- (191) *Háli ndihelelááge huligulílo igólo, [ngáli ndihaagulíle amayáwo].*  
 hali ndi-hel-el-ag-ile hu-li-gulílo igólo ngali ndi-haa-gul-ile a-ma-yawo  
 would 1SG-go-APPL- CL17-CL5- yesterday would 1SG-P3-buy-FV AUG.6-CL6-  
 IPFV-FV market sweet.potato  
 'If I had gone to the market yesterday I would have bought sweet potatoes.'
- (192) *Háli áádze, [ngáli ndimúweene].*  
 hali a-aadz-e ngáli ndi-mu-won-ile  
 would CL1-come-FV would 1SG-CL1.OBJ-see-FV  
 'If s/he had come, I would have seen him/her.'

#### 7.2.2.7 Concessive

Concessive clauses use the conjunction *nde* 'if' followed by the subjunctive form of the auxiliary *va* 'be'. This results in *nde SUBJ-vé* 'if it be'. Several examples of concessive clauses are given below:

<sup>18</sup> At this point it is unclear what difference in meaning there is between *hali* and *ngali*. The examples I have do not demonstrate a meaning difference, and consultants were unable to help clarify the difference between the two.

- (193) [*Nde yivé ikááye ya mwééne yili pátaali*], *ndandíbita humugeendéla.*  
 nde yi-v-e i-kááye ya mu-ene yi-li pa-taali ndi-a-ndi-bit-a hu-mu-gend-el-a  
 if CL9- AUG.9- ASSOC CL1-self CL9- CL16- 1SG-HAB-CL1- CL15-CL1.OBJ-  
 be-FV house .9 be long go-FV visit-FV  
 ‘Even though his/her house is far away I always go to visit him/her.’
- (194) [*Nde avé ahaasemíllwe uhwigelanídzá uhusímba*  
 nde a-v-e a-haa-seemw-ile u-hu-i-gelanidz-a u-hu-simb-a  
 if CL1-be-FV CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-forget-FV AUG.15-E-REFL-prepare-FV AUG.15-CL15-  
 write-FV  
*umutiháni, ahaasiimbile wúnofu.*  
 u-mu-tiháni a-haa-simb-ile wu-nofu  
 AUG.3-CL3-exam CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-write-FV CL14-good  
 ‘Even though s/he forgot to prepare to write (take) the exam, s/he wrote well.’
- (195) [*Nde avé múgogolo, apigéénda [nde huvé hútaali].*  
 nde a-v-e mu-gogolo a-pi-gend-a nde hu-v-e- hu-taali  
 if CL1-be-FV CL1-old.man CL1-pers-walk-FV if CL17-be-FV CL  
 ‘Even though he’s an old man, he still walks, even though it’s far away.’

### 7.2.3 Comparison

Comparison in Bena is accomplished using the verbal infinitive *hulutíla* ‘to surpass’. The subject of the clause (the comparee) occurs first; this is followed by a copula (optional in the present tense, see 7.1.4); third is the parameter—the property which is being compared (an adjective); next is the adverb *híilo* ‘very’ which serves as an index in comparative constructions; following this is the infinitive *hulutíla* (this serves as the marker that indicates the construction is a comparison); the final component of the comparison is the standard to which the subject is being compared. Consider the following example:

- (196)
- | COMPAREE         |            | COPULA      | PARAMETER     | INDEX        | MARKER           | STANDARD         |              |
|------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>Ilígaanga</i> | <i>íli</i> | <i>lilí</i> | <i>likómi</i> | <i>híílo</i> | <i>uhulutíla</i> | <i>ilígaanga</i> | <i>líla.</i> |
| i-li-ganga       | íli        | li-li       | li-komi       | híílo        | u-hu-lutíl-a     | i-li-ganga       | líla         |
| AUG.5-           | PROX.      | CL5-COP     | CL5-big       | very         | AUG-15-CL15-     | AUG.5-           | DIST.        |
| CL5-stone        | DEM.5      |             |               |              | surpass-FV       | CL5-stone        | DEM.5        |
- ‘This stone is bigger than that stone.’

The comparative construction can also appear without the index *híílo*, as in (197):

- (197)
- |                  |            |             |               |                  |                  |              |
|------------------|------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|--------------|
| <i>Ilígaanga</i> | <i>íli</i> | <i>lilí</i> | <i>likómi</i> | <i>uhulutíla</i> | <i>ilígaanga</i> | <i>líla.</i> |
| i-li-ganga       | íli        | li-li       | li-komi       | u-hu-lutíl-a     | i-li-ganga       | líla         |
| AUG.5-CL5-       | PROX.      | CL5-        | CL5-big       | AUG-15-CL15-     | AUG.5-CL5-stone  | DIST.DEM.5   |
| stone            | DEM.5      | COP         |               | surpass-FV       |                  |              |
- ‘This stone is bigger than that stone.’

Dixon (2008) provides a typology of comparative constructions. Constructions such as the ones in (196) and (197) (copular or verbal clause constructions) are a common strategy of comparison. As Dixon notes, in languages with these types of comparatives,<sup>19</sup> an adjective typically fills the parameter slot (as in both of the examples above). However, in Bena, it is also possible for nouns and quantifiers to serve as parameters in comparative constructions. (This is likely because adjectives represent a small, closed word class.) Example (198) shows the use of a nominal parameter; in (199), the parameter is a quantifier:

- (198)
- |                       |             |               |                  |                    |
|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Ungamusuungúla</i> | <i>aali</i> | <i>músugu</i> | <i>uhulutíla</i> | <i>ung'wáále.</i>  |
| u-ngamu-sungula       | a-aa-li     | mu-sugu       | u-hu-lutíl-a     | u-N-kwáále         |
| AUG.1-clever-hare     | CL1-P4-COP  | CL1-sly.one   | AUG.15-CL15-     | AUG.1-CL9-pheasant |
|                       |             |               | surpass-FV       |                    |
- ‘Clever Hare was more of a sly one than the Pheasant.’  
 (08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3, line 003*)

<sup>19</sup> These comparative constructions belong to Dixon’s A1 category.

- (199) *Tili wólofu híilo uhulutíla pahátaali.*  
 ti-li va-olofu híflo u-hu-lutíl-a pa-hátaali  
 1PL-COP CL2-many very AUG.15-CL15-surpass-FV CL16-long.ago  
 ‘There are many more of us than (there were) long ago.’  
 (08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 070)

It is becoming increasingly common for Bena speakers to use *hulího*, borrowed from

Swahili *kuliko* ‘than’ as the comparison marker, rather than the Bena verb *hulutíla*:

- (200) *Awééne ngíta múúnu mukómi híilo hulího avaváha va mwééne.*  
 a-won-ile ngíta mu-nu mu-kómi híflo hulího a-va-vaha va mu-ene  
 CL1-see-FV like CL1- CL1-big very than AUG.2- ASSOC.2 CL1-self  
 person CL2-parent  
 ‘He saw (himself) as a bigger person than his parents.’  
 (08Oct16c, Prodigal Son, line 015)

- (201) *Uli múnofu hulího umúyaago.*  
 u-li mu-nofu hulího u-mu-yaago  
 2SG-COP CL1-good than AUG.1-CL1-your.friend  
 ‘You are better than your friend.’  
 (08Oct17b, The Hyena and the Hare, line 109)

It is also possible for a finite verbal clause to serve as comparee:

- (202) *Na vahuguvalága híilo hulího myááha gya néng’uni.*  
 na va-huguval-ag-a híflo hulího mi-aha gya néng’uni  
 and CL2-be.sad-NARR-FV very than CL4-year ASSOC.4 today  
 ‘And they were sadder than (in) the years of today.’  
 (08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 013)

- (203) *Tífwa híilo hulího pámwaaandi.*  
 ti-fw-a híflo hulího pa-mwaandi  
 1PL-die-FV very than CL16-long.ago  
 ‘We die more (often) than long ago.’  
 (08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 095)

There is a second way in which comparative constructions are formed. In this strategy, the verb *hulutila* ‘to surpass’ is used in a finite, transitive clause. Consider (204):

(204)	COMPAREE		INDEX	PARAMETER	STANDARD
	<i>līgaanga</i>	<i>ili</i>	<i>lilútye</i>	<i>wúnofu</i>	<i>hulikómi</i> .
	i-li-ganga	íli	li-lutil-ile	wu-nofu	hu-li-kómi
	AUG.5-CL5-stone	PROX.DEM.5	CL5-surpass-FV	CL14-good	CL17-CL5-big
	‘This stone is better than the big one.’				

This type of comparison construction corresponds with another type of comparative clause described by Dixon (2008)<sup>20</sup>. In this type of construction, the index takes the form of a finite verb. The parameter is a noun, rather than an adjective. Further, in Bena the parameter is always a Class 14 noun (Class 14 is the class to which qualitative nouns belong, see 4.1.1.8). The standard is a noun belonging to one of the locative classes (usually Class 17). Thus a more literal translation of (204) would be ‘this stone surpasses (in) goodness to/at the big one’. This strategy is much less common than the first strategy described above (no examples of this strategy exist in the corpus).

#### 7.2.4 Complement clauses

In Bena it is possible for clauses to serve as arguments of verbs. Complement clauses may be headed by verbs that are finite or non-finite. Bena has three types of complement clauses: infinitival complements, subjunctive complements, and fully finite complements. Infinitival complements are the most tightly integrated grammatically—the complement clause verb cannot contrast with the matrix verb in subject, tense, or aspect.

<sup>20</sup> Dixon classifies these types of comparatives as Class C.

Fully finite complements are the least grammatically integrated—the complement verb can have a subject, tense, and aspect independent of the matrix verb. In Bena the degree of grammatical integration of a complement clause with its matrix verb loosely correlates with conceptual integration (see Givón 1980 for further discussion of the relationship between a matrix verb and the degree of control it exhibits over its complements). Thus, for example, matrix verbs which allow fully finite complements (such as *tiga* ‘say’ and *wúúdzá* ‘ask’) are those which exhibit little control over the event described by the complement clause; these verbs are also less tightly integrated grammatically. This relationship between grammatical and conceptual integration of complement and matrix clauses is discussed further below where I describe non-finite (infinitival and subjunctive) complement clauses first. This is followed by a description of finite complements.

Infinitival complements are the least independent type of complement, both structurally and conceptually. The identity of the subject of the complement clause must be identical to that of the matrix verb. Further, because the verb of the complement clause is non-finite, it cannot contrast with the matrix verb in tense or aspect. Several examples of infinitival complements are given below:

- (205) *Vivaangága*                      *[uhúliya*                      *Ing’iing’i*                      *dzíla]*.  
           va-i-vang-ag-a                      u-hu-liy-a                      i-ng’iing’i                      dzíla  
           CL2-PRES-begin-NARR-FV    AUG.15-CL15-eat-FV    AUG.10-tuber    DIST.DEM.10  
           ‘They began to eat those tubers.’

(08Oct31a, *Don’t Eat the Tubers*, line 020)

- (206) *Pe timálile [uhúlima míguunda gya mádzebele]...*  
 pe ti-mal-ile u-hu-lim-a mi-gunda gya ma-dzebele  
 REL.1 1PL-finish-FV AUG.15-CL15-hoe-FV CL4-field ASSOC.4 CL6-corn

6

‘When we’ve finished hoeing fields of corn...’

(08Oct06h, *Times of Planting*, line 011)

- (207) *Halafu uve wíkaana [uhwikálíla ihídeego].*  
 halafu uve u-i-kaan-a u-hu-ikal-il-a i-hi-deego  
 then 2SG.PRO 2SG-PRES-refuse-FV AUG.15-CL15-sit-APPL-FV AUG.7-CL7-chair

‘Then you refuse you sit on a chair.’

(08Oct16f, *Taboos*, line 043)

The second type of non-finite complement clause is the subjunctive. (Formation of the subjunctive form of the verb is discussed in 5.2.5.11.2.) Subjunctive complement clauses are somewhat less constrained than infinitival complements—the identity of the subject(s) of the matrix and complement verb may be the same (208) or different (208):

- (208) *Ndisaha [ndiváloongele ulúsimo]...*  
 ndi-sah-a ndi-va-long-il-e u-lu-simo  
 1SG-want-FV 1SG-CL2.OBJ-tell-APPL-FV AUG.11-CL11-story  
 ‘I want to tell you a story...’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 001)

- (209) *Ndidziindíla [fiméle].*  
 ndi-dzind-il-a fi-mel-e  
 1SG-wait-APPL-FV CL8-grow-FV  
 ‘I wait for them (the crops) to grow.’

(08Oct16a, *A Farming Story*, line 035)

However, unlike fully finite complement clauses, subjunctive complements are still dependent upon the matrix verb for tense and aspect.

The final type of complement clause is the fully finite complement. These complements are the least integrated with the matrix verb, both grammatically and conceptually. They are fully finite (and therefore can contrast with the matrix verb in





- (213) *Ahéle hung'íina huwúúdz-a, ["Ve, Yúúva, waatuhollle tuli valínga?"]*  
 a-hel-e hu-ng'íina hu-wúúdz-a ve yuuva u-aa-tu-hol-ile tu-li va-linga  
 CL1-go- CL17-mother CL15-ask- 2SG. mother 2SG-P4-1PL.OBJ- 1PL- CL2-  
 FV FV PRO bear-FV be how.many  
 'He went to (his) mother to ask, "You, Mother, (when) you gave birth to us, how many  
 of us were there"?'  
*(08Oct06c, Swamp Girl, line 027)*

An intonation break occurs between the verb of utterance and the complement clause.

This is illustrated by a pitch contour of example (212):

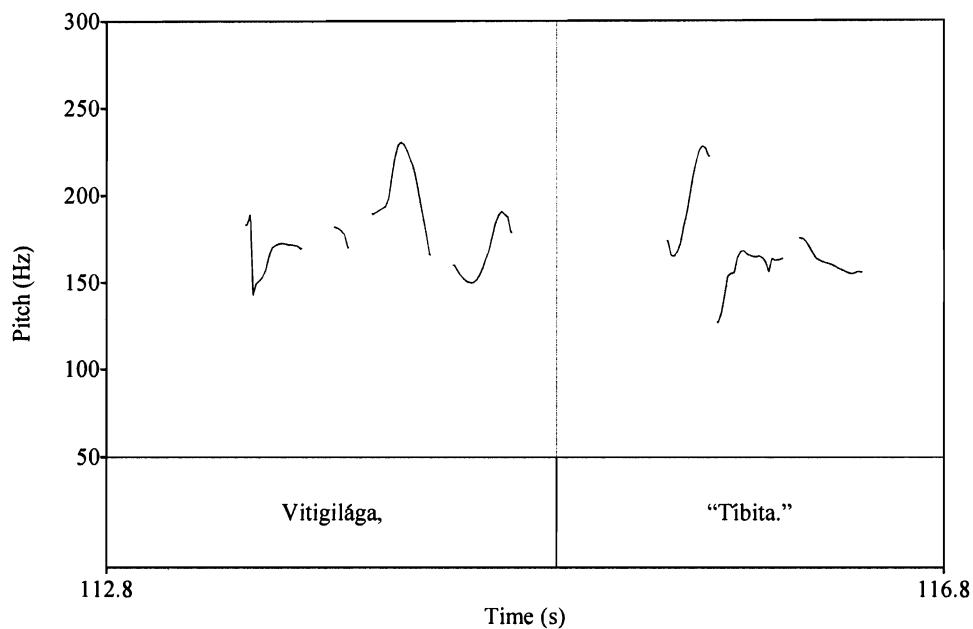


Figure 7.5 Pitch contour, direct quotation (example 202)

Indirect quotation uses either a subjunctive complement clause (214) or a finite complement (215). Indirect quotes may be preceded by a complementizer, as shown in (215).

- (214) *Upaapé ahumuloongéla [abíte huléta ing'iing'i dzíla].*  
 u-paap-e a-hu-mu-long-el-a a-bit-e hu-let-a i-ng'iing'i dzíla  
 AUG.1-grandmother. CL1-E-CL1.OBJ- CL1- CL15- AUG.10- DIST.DEM  
 3SG.POSS tell-APPL-FV go-FV bring-FV tuber .10  
 'Her grandmother told her to go bring those tubers.'  
 (08Oct31a, Don't Eat the Tubers, line 061)
- (215) *Ibita huvaloongéla [uhutigíla apúling'iine numúúnu fuláni].*  
 i-bit-a hu-va-long-el-a uhutigíla a-pulih-an-ile na=u-mu-nu fuláni  
 CL1-go- CL15-CL2.OBJ- COMP CL1-hear- and=AUG.1-CL1- some  
 FV tell-APPL-FV RECIP-FV person  
 'He goes to tell them that he has agreed with (lit. 'heard each other') some person.'  
 (08Nov17c, Bena Weddings, line 026)

Recursive embedding is also possible in Bena, as illustrated by (216):

- (216) *Atíge, ["Ndísaha [ndilóónge [uhutigíla*  
 a-tig-e ndi-sah-a ndi-long-e uhutigíla  
 CL1-say-FV 1SG-want-FV 1SG-say-FV COMP
- umwáána úyu ye mwééne ndaabábile."]]]*  
 u-mu-ana úyu ye mwééne ndi-aa-bab-ile  
 AUG.1-CL1-child PROX. DEM.1 REL.1' 3SG.PRO 1SG-P4-carry-FV  
 'She said, "I want to say that this child is the one I carried."  
 (08Oct16c, Prodigal Son, line 097)

## 7.2.5 Relative clauses

In Bena, subjects, objects (both primary and secondary objects), and certain types of obliques (locations and times) may be relativized. There are two relativization strategies. The first strategy uses a relative prefix on the verb; other relative clauses are formed using a series of relative pronouns. The prefixation strategy is used primarily to relativize subjects; the relative pronoun strategy mainly to relativize objects and obliques. However there are a number of situations in which the relative prefix strategy is used to

relativize subjects. These include Class 1 (including first and second person) subjects, subjects of negative verbs (though only when the negative prefix precedes the subject), subjects of existential verbs, and subjects of predicate adjectives. Table 7.5 summarizes the situations in which each relativization strategy is used:

RELATIVE PREFIX	RELATIVE PRONOUN
Subjects of lexical verbs (with the exception of Class 1 subjects)	Objects Temporal and locative obliques
Subjects of verbal copula, <i>nya</i> 'have', and <i>gaya</i> 'be without' (with the exception of Class 1 subjects)	Class 1 (including 1 <sup>st</sup> person and 2 <sup>nd</sup> person) subjects Subjects of negative verbs (when the negative prefix precedes the subject) Subjects of existential verb and predicate adjectives

Table 7.5 Relativization strategies

Like other types of modifiers, relative clauses follow the head noun. Relative clauses may also be headless. Unlike some other Bantu languages (e.g., Chichewa, Mchombo (2004) and Kagulu, Petzell (2008)), relativization does not trigger any difference in verbal tone patterns. Further, relativization is not restricted to particular tenses or aspects (in other words, a relative clause may contain a verb in any tense-aspect combination). Bena does not use any type of strategy (morphological, syntactic, or tonal) to distinguish between restrictive and non-restrictive relative clauses.

#### 7.2.5.1 Relativization using a verbal prefix

The verbal prefixation strategy of relativization (which can broadly be referred to as "subject relativization", though there are some exceptions to this) uses a relative prefix which occurs in the pre-SM slot (the slot occurring immediately before the subject

marker) of the verb. Most subjects (with the exception of Class 1 subjects and subjects of certain verbs which were listed in Table 7.5) use the verbal prefixation strategy. The relative prefix takes the form of a vowel which harmonizes with the vowel of the subject prefix.<sup>21</sup> This strategy of relativization is exemplified in (217):

- (217) a. *ilibíhi*                      *lígwe*  
           i-li-bihi                    li-gw-e  
           AUG.5-CL5-tree CL5-fall-FV  
           ‘the tree has fallen’
- b. *ilibíhi*                      *ilígwe*  
           i-li-bihi                    i-li-gw-e  
           AUG.5-CL5-tree REL.5-CL5-fall-FV  
           ‘the tree which has fallen’

Class 1 nouns and first and second person personal pronouns are relativized using the relative pronoun *ye*:

- (218) *umúúnu*                      *ye*                      *ihwáádza*  
           u-mu-nu                    ye                      i-hu-adz-a  
           AUG.1-CL1-person REL.CL1 CL1-E-come-FV  
           ‘the person who is coming’
- (219) *uhwééhwe*                      *ye*                      *tihwáádza*  
           u-hwééhwe                      ye                      ti-hu-adz-a  
           AUG.1-CL1-person REL.CL1 1PL-E-come-FV  
           ‘we who are coming’

Subjects which are Class 2 nouns (plurals of Class 1) do not use the relative pronoun strategy. Instead, like nouns from all other classes, they use the relative prefix:

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<sup>21</sup> This means that the relative prefix is identical in form to the augment. A possible alternative analysis is to say that the relative prefix is actually an augment which occurs on verbs. Such an explanation potentially has some merit, as relativization can be seen as a sort of nominalizing process. However, the explanation that the relative prefix is simply a vowel which harmonizes with the vowel of the subject prefix is a simpler one, and is the approach which will be taken here.

- (220) *aváánu*                      *avihwáádza*  
a-va-nu                      a-va-i-hu-adz-a  
AUG.2-CL2-person REL.2-CL2-PRES-E-come-FV  
‘the people who are coming’

Morphological properties of subject relatives are discussed in 5.2.8; the forms of subject relatives are summarized in Table 7.6:

CLASS	SUBJ. REL.	CLASS	SUBJ. REL.	CLASS	SUBJ. REL.
1	ye	8	i-	15	u-
2	a-	9	i-	16	a-
3	u-	10	i-	17	u-
4	i-	11	u-	18	u-
5	i-	12	a-	20	u-
6	a-	13	u-		
7	i-	14	u-		

Table 7.6 Forms of Bena subject relatives

The relative clause occurs as part of the NP and always follows the head noun. Several more examples of subject relatives, taken from the corpus, are given below:

- (221) *Índziimbo dza lukéélo, vihwíimbíla aváána [avatóliine].*  
i-N-imbo dza lu-keelo va-i-hu-imb-il-a a-va-na a-va-tol-an-ile  
AUG.10- CL10. CL11- CL2-PRES-E- AUG.2- REL.2-CL2-marry-RECIP-  
CL10-song ASSOC happiness sing-APPL-FV CL2-child FV  
‘Songs of happiness, they sing for the children who have married each other.’  
(08Oct03b, Bena Music, line 005)

- (222) *Ve, mudíimi, yúúve [ye waanyagfle ihilémo hya mudíimi váángu]?*   
ve mu-diimi yuuve ye u-aa-nyag-ile i-hi-lemo hya mu-diimi va-angu  
2SG. CL1-boy 2SG. REL. 2SG-P4-steal- AUG.7-CL7- CL7. CL1-boy CL1-  
PRO PRO CL1 FV whistle ASSOC 1SG.POSS  
‘You, boy, are you the one who stole my boy’s whistle?’  
(08Oct09f, The Hare and the Pheasant, Version 6: line 076)

- (223) *Ndibíta ndiloléédze ifidílmwa fyáángu [ifiháásige].*  
 ndi-bit-a ndi-loleedz-e i-fi-diimwa fi-angu i-fi-haa-sig-e  
 1SG-go- 1SG-look.at-FV AUG.8-CL8-animal CL8-1SG.POSS REL.8-CL8-P<sub>3</sub>-remain-  
 FV FV  
 ‘Let me go and look at my animals which were left.’  
*(08Oct17b, The Hyena and the Hare, line 095)*

- (224) *Adza vihwíisa iliyíti, umúúnu ye áfwe...*  
 adza va-i-hu-iih-i-a i-li-yiti u-mu-nu ye a-fw-e  
 AUX CL2-PRES-E- AUG.5-CL5-corpse AUG.1-CL1- REL.1 CL1-die-FV  
 descend-CAUS-FV person  
 ‘After they lower the corpse, the person who has died...’  
*(08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 022)*

Subjects of negative clauses may be relativized either using the relative prefix or using a relative pronoun. In negative clauses, the negative prefix may occur either before or after the subject prefix.<sup>22</sup> The relative prefix strategy is used when the negative morpheme occurs after the subject prefix, as in (225); the relative pronoun strategy is used when the negative morpheme occurs before the subject prefix (226).

- (225) *Aváánu avasílima vihikála húla.*  
 a-va-nu a-va-si-i-lim-a vi-hikál-a húla  
 AUG.2-CL2-person REL.2-CL2-NEG-PRES-farm-FV CL2-live-FV DIST.DEM.17  
 ‘People who don’t farm live there.’
- (226) *Aváánu ve sivílima vihikála húla.*  
 a-va-nu ve si-va-i-lim-a vi-hikál-a húla  
 AUG.2-CL2-person REL.2 NEG-CL2-PRES-farm-FV CL2-live-FV DIST.DEM.17  
 ‘People who don’t farm live there.’

The relative pronoun strategy is discussed in further detail in 7.2.5.2 below.

<sup>22</sup> At this point it is unclear what exactly conditions this difference. Negation is discussed in detail in 5.2.6.

Subjects (again, with the exception of Class 1 subjects) of copular clauses and of the reduced verbs ‘have’ and *gaya* ‘be without’ also utilize the relative prefix strategy:

- (227) *Ifĩnu*                      *ifĩli*                      *úhu*                      *fidiímwa*.  
i-fi-nu                      i-fi-li                      uhu                      fi-díímwa  
AUG.8-CL8-thing REL.8-CL8-COP NEAR.DEM.17 CL.8-animal  
‘The things which are here are animals.’
- (228) *Ifĩmaage*                      *ifĩnya*                      *wúúgi*,                      *ifyo*                      *fíva*                      *finofu*.  
i-fi-maage                      i-fi-ny-a                      wu-gi                      ifyo                      fi-v-a                      fi-nofu  
AUG.8-CL8- AUG.8-CL8- CL14-sharpness MED.DEM.8 CL8-be-FV CL8-good  
knife have-FV  
‘Knives which are sharp (have sharpness), these are good.’
- (229) *Ihĩmaage*                      *ihigáya*                      *wúúgi*,                      *hisiwésa*                      *hudúmula*                      *hĩĩnu*.  
i-hi-maage                      i-hi-gaya                      wu-gi                      hi-si-wes-a                      hu-dúmul-a                      hi-nu  
AUG.7-CL7-knife AUG.7-CL7- CL14- CL7-NEG- CL15-cut-FV CL7-thing  
be.without sharpness be.able-FV  
‘A knife which is not sharp (which is without sharpness) cannot cut anything.’

#### 7.2.5.2 Relativization using the relative pronoun

The second relativization strategy is primarily used to relativize objects and obliques. This strategy is also used to relativize Class 1 (including first and second person) subjects, subjects of negative verbs (when the negative prefix precedes the subject), subjects of the existential verb, and subjects of predicate adjectives. This relativization strategy uses a relative pronoun which inflects for noun class of the head noun. The relative clause follows the head noun, and the relative NP is gapped, as shown below:

- (230) a. *ndihaafigúle*                      *ifideego*  
ndi-haa-fi-gul-e                      i-fi-deego  
1SG-P3-CL8.OBJ-buy-FV AUG.8-CL8-chair  
‘I bought the chairs’



- b. *ifideego*      *fye*      *ndihaafigúle*  
 i-fi-deego      fi-e      ndi-haa-fi-gul-e  
 AUG.8-CL8-chair CL8-REL 1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-CL8.OBJ-buy-FV  
 ‘the chairs which I bought’

Relative pronouns are discussed in 4.2.1.4, but are summarized in the table below:

CLASS	REL.PRO.	CLASS	REL.PRO.	CLASS	REL.PRO.
1	ye	8	fye	15	hwe
2	ve	9	ye	16	pe
3	gwe	10	dze	17	hwe
4	gye	11	lwe	18	mwe
5	lye	12	he	20	gwe
6	gye	13	twe		
7	hye	14	we		

Table 7.7 Relative pronouns

The relative pronoun strategy is accompanied by a change in word order. The relative clause itself has a reversed order of subject and verb (VS rather than SV), and NP<sub>REL</sub> is gapped. Compare (231a) with its relativized counterpart in (b):

- (231) a. *Aváána*      *vlíkina*      *umúkino*.  
 a-va-na      va-i-kin-a      u-mu-kino  
 AUG.2-CL2-child CL2-PRES-play-FV AUG.3-CL3-game  
 ‘The children are playing a game.’
- b. *umúkino*      *gwe*      *vlíkina*      *aváána*  
 u-mu-kino      gu-e      va-i-kin-a      a-va-na  
 AUG.3-CL3-game CL3-REL CL2-PRES-play-FV AUG.2-CL2-child  
 ‘the game which the children are playing’

The relative pronoun strategy is also used to relativize the object of ‘have’ constructions which use the copula *li* followed by the dependent personal pronoun:

- (232) a. *Ali náwo wudóódo.*  
 a-li nawo wu-dóódo  
 CL1-COP with.14 CL14-little  
 ‘He had little.’
- b. *Amusuumile, ungamusuungúla nuwudóódo we ali náwo.*  
 a-mu-suumil-e u-ngamu-sungula na=u-wu-dóódo we a-li nawo  
 CL1-CL1.OBJ- AUG.1-clever-hare and=AUG.14- REL.14 CL1- with.14  
 defeat-FV CL15-little COP  
 ‘The clever hare beat him (the elephant) with the little that he had.’  
 (08Oct09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant: Version 3, line 091*)

In double object constructions either object may be relativized. Compare (233a) with (b) and (c). Example (b) shows relativization of the applied object (a beneficiary); in example (c) the secondary object *hyahúliya* ‘food’ is relativized.

- (233) a. *Ndili muhuvatelehéla aváana ihyahúliya.*  
 ndi-li mu-hu-va-teleh-el-a a-va-na i-hi-ahúliya  
 1SG-COP CL18-CL15-CL2.OBJ-cook-APPL-FV AUG.2-CL2-child AUG.7-CL7-food  
 ‘I am cooking food for the children.’
- b. *aváana ve ndili muhuvatelehéla ihyahúliya*  
 a-va-na ve ndi-li mu-hu-va-teleh-el-a i-hi-ahúliya  
 AUG.2-CL2-child REL.2 1SG-COP CL18-CL15-CL2.OBJ-  
 cook-APPL-FV AUG.7-CL7-food  
 ‘the children for whom I am cooking food’
- c. *ihyahúliya hye ndili muhuvatelehéla aváana*  
 i-hi-ahúliya hye ndi-li mu-hu-va-teleh-el-a a-va-na  
 AUG.7-CL7-food REL.7 1SG-COP CL18-CL15-CL2.OBJ-  
 cook-APPL-FV AUG.2-CL2-child  
 ‘the food which I am cooking for the children’

The relative pronoun strategy is also used to relativize certain obliques. These include locations and times. Example (234) shows relativization of a location in a non-locative class; Examples (235) and (236) are relativized locative class nouns. Relativization of a temporal oblique is shown in (237).



- b. \**hímaage hye ndidúmwe umúkaate*  
 hi-maage hye ndi-dumul-ile u-mu-kaate  
 CL7-knife REL.7 1SG-cut-FV AUG.3-CL3-bread  
 (attempted: ‘the knife with which I cut the bread’)

In (239a), *hímaage* ‘knife’ is promoted to an object using an applicative; (b) shows relativization of the instrument now that it has been promoted to an object:

- (239) a. *Ihímaage ndidúmulye umúkaate.*  
 i-hi-maage ndi-dumul-il-ile u-mu-kaate  
 AUG.7-CL7-knife 1SG-cut-APPL-FV AUG.3-CL3-bread  
 ‘I cut the bread with a knife.’
- b. *hímaage hye ndidúmulye umúkaate*  
 hi-maage hye ndi-dumul-il-ile u-mu-kaate  
 CL7-knife REL.7 1SG-cut-APPL-FV AUG.3-CL3-bread  
 ‘the knife with which I cut the bread’

Possessors must first be promoted to become subjects before they can be relativized:

- (240) a. *Umuhíidzi ahaahiidzile umupáho gwa mwayúúva.*  
 u-mu-hiidzi a-haa-hiidz-ile u-mu-paho gwa mu-ayúúva  
 AUG.3-CL3-thief CL1-P3-steal-FV AUG.3-CL3-bag ASSOC.3 CL1-woman  
 ‘The thief stole the bag of the woman.’
- b. *Umwayúúva ahiidziilwe umupáho gwááhwe (numuhíidzi).*  
 u-mu-ayúúva a-hiidz-w-ile u-mu-paho gu-ahwe na=u-mu-híidzi  
 AUG.1-CL1-woman CL1-steal- AUG.3-CL3- CL3-3SG.POSS and=AUG.3-CL3-  
 PASS-FV bag thief  
 ‘The woman was stolen her bag (by the thief).’
- b. *umwayúúva ye ahiidziilwe umupáho gwááhwe (numuhíidzi)*  
 u-mu-ayúúva ye a-hiidz-w-ile u-mu-paho gu-ahwe na=u-mu-híidzi  
 AUG.1-CL1-woman REL.1 CL1-steal- AUG.3-CL3- CL3- and=AUG.3-CL3-  
 PASS-FV bag 3SG.POSS thief  
 ‘the woman who was stolen her bag (by the thief)’

There are certain situations in which the relative pronoun strategy is used to relativize subjects. These include relativization of subjects of the existential verb (241); subjects of predicate adjective constructions (242); subjects of negative copular constructions (243); and Class 1 and first and second person pronominal subjects (244) and (245):

- (241) *ifideege*                      *fye*    *poofili*    *ápa*  
          i-fi-deege                      fye    poofili    ápa  
          AUG.8-CL8-chair   REL.8   EXIST.8   PROX.DEM.16  
          ‘the chairs which are here’

- (242) *ulúleenga*                      *lwe*            *ludzáfu*  
          u-lu-lenga                      lwe            lu-dzafu  
          AUG.11-CL11-water   REL.11   CL11-dirty  
          ‘water which is dirty’

- (243) *aváánu*                      *ve*        *si*        *Vabéna*  
          a-va-nu                      ve        si        va-bena  
          AUG.2-CL2-person   REL.2   NEG   CL2-bena  
          ‘people who are not Bena’

- (244) *umúúnu*                      *ye*            *ihwáádza*  
          u-mu-nu                      ye            i-hu-adz-a  
          AUG.1-CL1-person   REL.CL1   CL1-E-come-FV  
          ‘the person who is coming’

- (245) *uhwééhwe*                      *ye*            *tihwáádza*  
          u-hwééhwe                      ye            ti-hu-adz-a  
          AUG.1-CL1-person   REL.CL1   1PL-E-come-FV  
          ‘we who are coming’

Relative pronouns can also be used to link two nouns in predicate nominal constructions (see 7.1.4 for further discussion of this).

### 7.2.5.3 Headless relative clauses

Relative clauses can be headless when it is possible to recover the referent of the head of the relative clause from the discourse context. In (246), the headless relative clause refers to an animal (*hikóho*, Class 7) which the speaker has been discussing.

- (246) *Lino, ndígita wuli ndikagúle ihihwáádza ihikamáta?*  
 lino ndi-git-a wuli ndi-kagul-e i-hi-hu-adz-a i-hi-kamat-a  
 now 1SG-do-FV how 1SG-know-FV REL.7-CL7-E-come-FV REL.7-CL7-catch-FV  
 ‘Now what shall I do so that I know what is coming (and) what is catching (them)?’  
 (08Oct17b, *The Hyena and the Hare*, line 083)

Headless relative clauses are also used when the noun class of the relativizer makes it clear what type of person/object is being referred to (i.e., a Class 2 subject prefix refers to humans).

- (247) *Avabábile umwáána mudíími úyu, vilelága wúnofu.*  
 a-va-bab-ile u-mu-ana mu-díími uyu va-i-lel-ag-a wu-nofu  
 REL.2-CL2- AUG.1-CL1-child CL1-boy PROX.DEM.1 CL2-PRES-raise- CL14-good  
 bear-FV NARR-FV  
 ‘Those who had given birth to this boy child, they raised (him) well.’  
 (08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, line 007)

There are several noun classes whose relative pronouns have a specific meaning. These include Class 7 (*hye*, ‘how’), Class 16 (*pe*, ‘when’), Class 17 (*hwe*, ‘where’), and Class 18 (*mwe*, ‘where—inside’). These relative pronouns nearly always occur in headless relative clauses and are exemplified below:

- (248) *Hye wígita uhuteléha uwugáli, sindihulukagúla.*  
 hye u-i-git-a u-hu-teleh-a u-wu-gali si-ndi-hu-lu-kagul-a  
 REL.7 2SG-PRES-do-FV AUG.15-CL15-cook-FV AUG.14-CL14- NEG-1SG-E-CL11-know-FV  
 porridge FV  
 ‘How you make porridge, I don’t know it.’

- (249) *Hye tatígita éwo.*  
 hye ti-a-ti-git-a éwo  
 REL. 1PL-HAB-1PL-do-FV thus  
 7  
 ‘This is how we do it.’

(08Oct06h, *Times of Planting*, line 024)

- (250) *Pe igéénda, inogéla.*  
 pe i-gend-a i-nogel-a  
 REL.16 CL1-walk-FV CL1-be.sweet-FV  
 ‘When he walks he’s attractive.’

(08Oct10b, *The Hare and His Wife*, line 043)

- (251) *Hwe ivíiha, sitihugawóna.*  
 hu-e i-viih-a si-ti-hu-ga-won-a  
 CL17- CL1-put-FV NEG-1PL-E-CL6-see-FV  
 REL  
 ‘Where he puts it, we don’t see it.’

(08Oct16c, *The Prodigal Son*, line 102)

It is possible to have headless relative clauses from other noun classes (including those that do not have a clear semantic categorization), but these are much less common<sup>23</sup> and only occur when the referent of the relative clause is clear from context.

#### 7.2.6 Focus constructions

As established in 7.1, Bena has a basic SVO word order. However, other word orders are possible. Variations in word order can be used to mark the pragmatic status of a particular constituent or clause. “Focus constructions” here are used to indicate that particular clauses or constituents are pragmatically marked. Thus clauses that do not have a focused entity are considered to be un-focused (or pragmatically unmarked). It is quite common in Bantu languages for focus to be indicated at the segmental, morphological

<sup>23</sup> The only headless relative clauses that occur in the corpus are from Classes 1, 2, 7, 16, 17, and 18.

level and/or at the tonal level (for a discussion of tone and focus in Bantu, see Hyman 1999). Bena uses three strategies to mark focus. The first two strategies (cleft constructions and right dislocation) are used to mark contrastive focus. The third strategy (left dislocation) shifts a topic to the beginning of a sentence. Each strategy is discussed below.

#### 7.2.6.1 Cleft constructions

Cleft constructions in Bena focus a constituent by fronting that constituent; the clefted constituent is preceded by a relative pronoun<sup>24</sup> and followed by a relative clause. Rules governing which types of grammatical relations can be clefted are identical to those for relative clauses. Thus subjects, objects, and temporal and locative obliques can all be clefted. Other types of obliques such as instruments and beneficiaries must first be promoted to objects before they can be clefted. Cleft constructions are distinguished from other types of fronting (such as left dislocation which only changes word order) by the presence of a relative pronoun preceding the fronted constituent and a relative clause following it. Compare (252a) with the example given in (b), showing clefting of a subject NP:

- (252) a. *Catherin ihwáádza.*  
           Catherin i-hu-adz-a  
           Catherin CL1-E-come-FV  
           ‘Catherin is coming.’

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<sup>24</sup> Constructions such as these indicate that it is possible that the relative pronoun is grammaticalizing into some sort of focus marker, see Givón (1990) for a discussion of this process in other Bantu languages.



- b. *Ye Catherin ye ihwáádza.*  
 ye Catherin ye i-hu-adz-a  
 REL.1 Catherin REL.1 CL1-E-come-FV  
 ‘It is Catherin who is coming.’

The following examples show clefting of the subject of a transitive verb:

- (253) a. *Imbwa dzila dzihaaliye ihyahúliya hyáángu.*  
 i-mbwa dzila dzi-haa-liy-ile i-hi-ahuliya hi-angu  
 AUG.10-dog DIST.DEM.10 CL10-P<sub>3</sub>-eat-FV AUG.7-CL7-food CL7-1SG.POSS  
 ‘Those dogs ate my food.’
- b. *Dze mbwa dzila idzihaaliye ihyahúliya hyáángu.*  
 dze mbwa dzila i-dzi-haa-liy-ile i-hi-ahuliya hi-angu  
 REL.10 dog DIST.DEM.10 REL-10-CL10-P<sub>3</sub>-eat-FV AUG.7-CL7-food CL7-1SG.POSS  
 ‘It’s those dogs who ate my food.’

Objects may also be clefted. The object is fronted using a cleft construction; this is followed by a relative clause in which the order of verb and subject is VS rather than SV:

- (254) a. *Yúúva ahaatelihe umúkaate.*  
 yuuva a-haa-teleh-ile u-mu-kaate  
 mother CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-cook-FV AUG.3-CL3-bread  
 ‘Mother cooked bread.’
- b. *Gwe múkaate gwe ahaatelihe umúkaate.*  
 gwe mu-kaate gwe a-haa-teleh-ile u-mu-kaate  
 REL.3 CL3-bread REL.3 CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-cook-FV AUG.3-CL3-bread  
 ‘It is bread which Mother cooked.’

In double object constructions, either object may be clefted:

- (255) a. *Yúúva ahaavapééle aváána ihyahúliya.*  
 yuuva a-haa-va-peel-e a-va-na i-hi-ahúliya  
 mother CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-CL2.OBJ-give-FV AUG.2-CL2-child AUG.7-CL7-food  
 ‘Mother gave the children food.’

- b. *Ve váána ve ahaavapééle uyúúva ihyahúliya.*  
 ve va-na ve a-haa-va-peel-e u-yuuva i-hi-ahúliya  
 REL.2 CL2-child REL.2 CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-CL2.OBJ-give-FV AUG.1-mother AUG.7-CL7-food  
 ‘they are children to whom Mother gave food’
- c. *Hye hyahúliya hye ahaavapééle uyúúva aváána.*  
 hye hi-ahúliya hye a-haa-va-peel-e u-yuuva a-va-na  
 REL.7 CL7-food REL.7 CL1-P<sub>3</sub>-CL2.OBJ-give-FV AUG.1-mother AUG.2-CL2-child  
 ‘it is food which Mother gave the children’

Locations and times can also be clefted:

- (256) *Mwe mugúúnda múla mwe ndihaayaalile amádzebele.*  
 mwe mu-gunda múla mwe ndi-haa-yaal-ile a-ma-dzebele  
 REL.18 CL3-field DIST.DEM.3 REL.18 1SG-P<sub>3</sub>-plant-FV AUG.6-CL6-corn  
 ‘It is in that field where I planted corn.’
- (257) *Pe mwéédzi úgu pe ndiyáála amádzebele.*  
 pe mu-edzi úgu pe ndi-yáál-a a-ma-dzebele  
 REL.16 CL3-month PROX.DEM.3 REL.16 1SG-plant-FV AUG.6-CL6-corn  
 ‘It is in this month when I plant corn.’

Instruments and beneficiaries must first be promoted to objects before they can be clefted

(note that both of the examples below have applicative verb forms, showing that the

instrument (258) and the beneficiary (259) are objects):

- (258) *Ye leefáni ye ikééla uhuliíla uwugáli.*  
 ye leefani ye i-keel-a u-hu-liy-il-a u-wu-gali  
 REL.1 spoon REL.1 CL1-like-FV AUG.15-CL15-eat-APPL-FV AUG.14-CL14-porridge  
 ‘It is with a spoon that he likes to eat porridge.’
- (259) *Ye dááda ye ndihumulimíla amalímo.*  
 ye dááda ye ndi-hu-mu-lim-il-a a-ma-limo  
 REL.9 father REL.9 1SG-E-CL1.OBJ-work-APPL-FV AUG.6-CL6-work  
 ‘It is Father for whom I am doing work.’

Cleft constructions are used to mark contrastive focus. Contrastive focus is used when the speaker wishes to emphasize that one individual (or group of individuals) took

part in a particular action. The speaker also wishes to counter any assumption that it was anyone else who participated. In (260), a mother is looking for her son. She encounters one of her son's friends, who is telling her that he knows who she is talking about. He uses a cleft construction to indicate that it's her son (and not anyone else) that he is referring to:

- (260) a. *Itigilága, "Kaa, veyá, nde [ye mwáána mwééne ye wisahúla],*  
 i-tig-il-ag-a kaa veyá nde ye mu-ana mu-ene ye u-i-sahul-a  
 CL1-say-APPL- ha 2SG. if REL.1 CL1- CL1-self REL.1 2SG-PRES-  
 NARR-FV VOC child search-FV  
 'He said, "Ha, hey, if it's the child himself who you are searching for,"'

- b. *te vayágo, tumúdzeele.*  
 te va-yago tu-mu-dzeel-e  
 1PL.PRO CL2-friend.2PL.POSS 1PL-CL1.OBJ-know-FV  
 'We, your friends, we know him.'

(08Oct16c, *Prodigal Son*, lines 038-039)

In (261), a grandmother has discovered that someone has been eating her peanuts. Here, the hyena is denying that he ate them, instead accusing the hare:

- (261) a. *Atíge, "Kaa! Une, si yúúne."*  
 a-tig-e kaa une si yúúne  
 CL1-say-FV ha 1SG.PRO NEG 1SG.PRO  
 'He said, "Ha! Me, it wasn't me."'

(08Nov17a, *Bena Funerals*, line 006)

- b. *Ila, ívedza [ye sungúúla ye aadzíle]*  
 ila i-vedz-a ye sungula ye a-aa-adz-ile  
 but CL1-be-FV REL.1 hare REL.1 CL1-P4-come-FV

*mumugúúnda gwááho, ááliye].*  
 mu-mu-gunda gu-aho a-aa-liy-ile  
 CL18-CL3-field CL3-2SG. POSS CL1-P4-eat-FV  
 'But it was the hare who came to your field and ate (them).'

(08Oct17b, *The Hyena and the Hare*, lines 033-034)

### 7.2.6.2 Right dislocation

Contrastive focus in Bena can also be accomplished by a shift in word order.<sup>25</sup>

Right dislocation is accomplished by postposing the subject, thereby reversing the order of subject and verb (resulting in VS ordering, rather than SV). In the following sentence, the speaker is describing a situation where a man dies and his wife is left behind. She is aware that it is possible for the hearer to think that the man is the one who was left behind (rather than the woman). She uses contrastive focus to emphasize that it is, indeed, the woman who was left, and not the man:

- (262) *Nde ahaali mwadááda, asíge umwayúúva.*  
 nde a-ha-li mu-adááda a-sig-e u-mu-ayúúva  
 if CL1-P3-COP CL1-man CL1-remain-FV AUG-CL1-woman  
 ‘If it was the man (who died), **the woman** remained.’  
 (08Nov17a, Bena Funerals, line 027)

There is a folktale in the corpus, “The Hare and the Pheasant” which was told by three different speakers. At one point in the story, the hare is telling the pheasant that he (the hare) will go first (not the pheasant). All three speakers chose to use contrastive focus at this point in the story:

- (263) “*Lino ndítala unééne, lisuungúla.*”  
 lino ndi-tal-a u-nééne li-sungula  
 now 1SG-start-FV AUG.1-1SG.PRO CL5-hare  
 “Now, **I**, the hare, will start.”  
 (08Sept01b, The Hare and the Pheasant: version 1, line 009)

<sup>25</sup> Both cleft constructions and right dislocation can be used to mark contrastive focus. At this point it is unclear what the pragmatic difference is between the two strategies.

- (264) *Nehe súde itigilága, “Lino ndítala unééne uhufiháma.”*  
 nehe sude i-tig-il-ag-a lino ndi-tal-a u-nééne u-hu-fihám-a  
 then hare CL1-say-APPL- now 1SG-start- AUG.1-1SG.PRO AUG.15-CL15-  
 NARR-FV FV hide-FV  
 ‘Then the hare said, “Now I will start to hide.”’  
 (08Sept11e, *The Hare and the Pheasant*: version 2, line 006)
- (265) *Ungamusuungúla itigilága, “Ndítala unééne.”*  
 u-ngamu-sungula i-tig-il-ag-a ndi-tal-a u-nééne  
 AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV 1SG-start-FV AUG.1-1SG.PRO  
 ‘Clever Hare said, “I will start.”’  
 (08Sept09f, *The Hare and the Pheasant*: version 3, line 014)

In right dislocation, the dislocated constituent forms part of the same phonological phrase as what precedes it. The following pitch contour shows example (262) above.

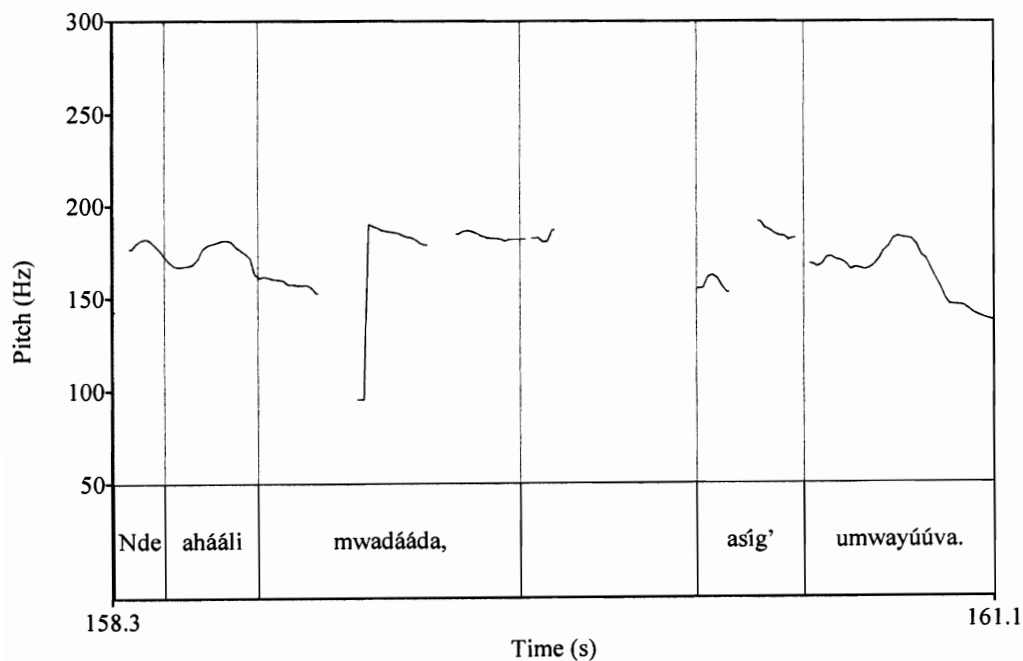


Figure 7.6 Pitch contour of example (262)



The lion is the object of each of the verbs in (b) and as such would normally be expected to occur post-verbally. However, because it has been de-focused through left-dislocation, it occurs at the beginning of the sentence.

Example (266) showed left-dislocation of an object. It is also possible to front verbs. In (267), the topic of singing has already been established. The verb *vihwíimba* ‘they sing’ is left-dislocated, so that the focus of the construction is on the times when people sing (at weddings, funerals, and harvest time).

- (267) *Índziimbo dza Vabéna, vihwíimba váánu nde*  
 i-N-imbo dza va-bena va-i-hu-imb-a va-nu nde  
 AUG.10- ASSOC.10 CL2-Bena CL2-PRES-E-sing-FV CL2-person if  
 CL10-song
- vanya nooláni, vanya hivéémbo, víbeta mádzebele.*  
 va-ny-a nooláni va-ny-a hi-vembo va-i-bet-a ma-dzebele  
 CL2- wedding CL2-have-FV CL7-funeral CL2-PRES- CL6-corn  
 have-FV harvest-FV
- ‘The songs of the Bena, people sing (them) if they have a wedding, (if) they have a funeral, (if) they harvest corn.’
- (08Oct03b, Bena Music, line 001)

Example (268) below shows that an entire verb phrase can be left-dislocated.

Here, a new participant (*amákeheeva* ‘foxes’) is being introduced. The speaker, a rooster, has been talking about seeing a group of animals coming, as evidenced by dust billowing up. Therefore the coming of the foxes is fronted so that the foxes themselves are focused:

- (268) *Gihwáádza gíínyila amákeheeva.*  
 ga-i-hu-adz-a ga-i-nyil-a a-ma-keheeva  
 CL6-PRES-E-come-FV CL6-PRES-run-FV AUG.6-CL6-fox  
 ‘Foxes are coming, running.’
- (08Oct06e, The Rooster and the Mongoose: version 2, line 023)

In each of the previous examples, the fronted constituent is simply moved to the front of the sentence. It is also possible to leave a dependent pronoun in the slot left empty by the object as a placeholder, as in (269) (here, the grandmother has been wondering what happened to her peanuts):

- (269) *Amáángogo gáángu, ahéle nágo hwííya?*  
 a-ma-ngogo ga-ngu a-hel-e nágo hwííya  
 AUG.6-CL6-peanut CL6-1SG.POSS CL1-go-FV with.6 where  
 ‘My peanuts, where did he go with them?’  
 (08Oct17b, *The Hyena and the Hare*, line 019)

Left-dislocation is not always used with given or old information. It can also be used to establish a topic. The following sentence is the first utterance in a description a speaker gave about Bena farming methods. He fronts the verbal infinitive *uhúlima* to introduce the topic which he is planning to speak about:

- (270) *Uhúlima tiváanga pamwéédzi ugwa líkyumi.*  
 u-hu-lim-a ti-vang-a pa-mu-edzi u-gwa líkyumi  
 AUG.15-CL15-farm-FV 1PL-begin-FV CL16-CL3-moon AUG.3-ASSOC.3 ten  
 ‘Farming, we begin (it) in October.’  
 (08Oct06h, *Times of Planing*, line 001)

Left-dislocated constituents are a part of the same phonological phrase as that which follows. In (267) (illustrated by Figure 7.7), the verb *vihwíimba* ‘they sing’ is the fronted constituent. It forms a single phonological phrase with *aváánu* ‘people’ which follows it. Final vowel deletion applies to the final vowel of *vihwíimba*, resulting in *vihwíimb’aváánu* (again, final vowel deletion only applies when the deleted vowel is followed by a word beginning with a vowel that is part of the same phonological phrase).



Further, there is no pause between the two words, and the intonation contour is consistent with that of a single phonological phrase.

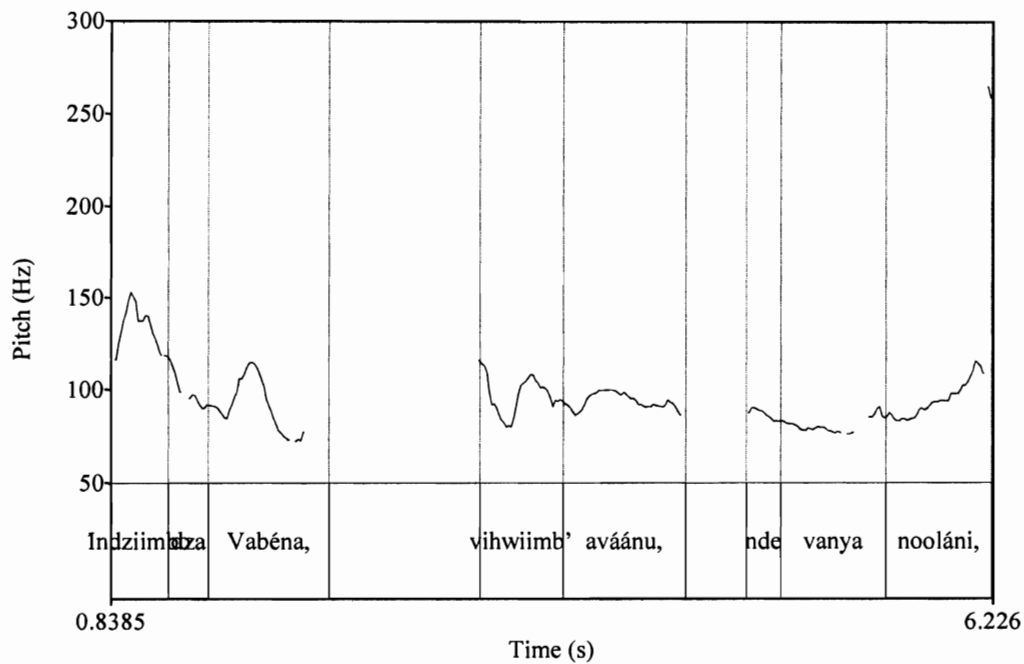


Figure 7.7 Pitch contour of example (267)

### 7.3 Summary

This chapter has discussed major aspects of Bena syntax. I began with a description of basic word order and an analysis of Bena arguments (subjects and objects) and obliques. I showed Bena can best be classified as an “asymmetric” language with respect to object behavior. This is followed by a discussion of voice and valence and the ways in which clauses containing derived verbs behave. After this I described both yes-no questions and content questions and the ways in which they are formed in Bena. I

dealt with complex clauses in the next major section of the chapter. I discussed coordination, adverbial clauses, complement clauses, and relative clauses. Finally, I discussed focus constructions and the ways in which word order can be manipulated to both to focus and de-focus particular constituents.

## Chapter 8

### Conclusion

The previous chapters of this grammar have discussed major aspects of Bena grammar: phonetics and phonology (Chapter 2), word classes (Chapter 3), nominal morphology and the noun phrase (Chapter 4), verbal morphology (Chapter 5), adverbs and other invariables (Chapter 6) and syntax (Chapter 7). This final chapter highlights several features of Bena from a typological perspective. I have chosen features which have received particular attention in the Bantu literature. These include tone, noun classes, the augment, tense and aspect, derivational extensions, object properties, and focus constructions. For each feature I give a brief description of the feature in Bena and then compare it to other Bantu languages and assess the degree to which Bena is a “typical” Bantu language for that particular feature. I also focus a few areas in which further research on Bena could shed particular light on Bantu linguistics. At the end of this chapter is a brief discussion of two different types of inversion (locative inversion and subject-object inversion) which are found in some other Bantu languages but are not exhibited by Bena.

#### 8.1 Tone

In most other Bantu languages, tone bears a much higher functional load than it does in Bena. For example, in Zigula (G31), the tone system is a complex interaction between underlying (lexical) tone, grammatical tone, and a series of rules which predict

the ways in which High tone can spread from one syllable to another (Kenstowicz and Kisseberth 1990). Bena has two tones, High and Low (or High and toneless). A contrast between High and Low tone is the most common situation in Bantu, though a few Bantu languages (i.e., Swahili) are non-tonal, and some (for example Chaga) have as many as four tones (Kisseberth and Odden 2003).

As discussed in 2.3, Bena can best be described as a “predictable tone language” (Odden 1988). In such languages tone bears a relatively low functional load. Only a single High tone can exist per word, and tone is largely predictable on the basis of phonological shape and/or tense and aspect. Odden (1988) identifies other predictable tone languages—these include Safwa, M25, (see also Voorhoeve 1973), Kinga, G65, (see also Schadeburg 1973), and Hehe, G63. In most Bantu languages tone is more complex—other languages allow more than one High per word and fairly complex sets of rules relate underlying (lexical) tone with grammatical tone.

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of Bena tone for future research is the area of tone change, particularly as a result of Swahili influence. Chapter 1 established that Bena is being significantly impacted by Swahili, but focused primarily on language use, rather than on specific structural impacts Swahili is having on Bena. One area in which Swahili is affecting Bena is that of tone. Swahili has a stress-based system. All words exhibit penultimate stress. It is clear that Swahili is having an impact on Bena’s tonal system, though at this point it is unclear to what extent Swahili is changing Bena tone. Informal observation indicates that elderly speakers tend to have a greater contrast between High and Low tones (their High tones are higher and their Low tones are lower). This has not

yet been quantified, though it does seem to indicate that this is an area worth investigating further. Petzell (2003) has observed a similar (though more extreme) situation for Kagulu, G12. She claims that Kagulu has shifted entirely from a tone-based system to a pitch accent language and she hypothesizes that this change is due to influence from Swahili.

## 8.2 Noun Classes

As described in detail in Chapter 4, Bena has 19 noun classes. These noun classes control a system of nominal concord, where noun class is obligatorily marked (with a prefix) on adjectives, numbers, possessive pronouns, demonstratives, and (with subject and object markers) verbs. Bena is fairly typical for Bantu with respect to both the number of classes it has and the semantic categorization of each class (see 4.1.1). Bena is conservative with respect to its noun class system—each of Bena’s noun classes can be reconstructed for Proto-Bantu (Meinhoff 1932, Meussen 1967, Welmers 1973). Maho (1999) lists 23 possible noun classes which existed in Proto-Bantu. In a survey of 333 Bantu languages, Maho found that the number of noun classes ranged from 0 to 19. Maho refers to languages that utilize up to three noun classes as languages with “reduced noun class systems” and those that contain seven or more noun classes as languages with “traditional noun class systems”. (Languages containing between three and seven classes lie somewhere in between.) Therefore, according to Maho’s typology, Bena has a traditional noun class system. In fact, with 19 noun classes, Bena retains more noun classes from Proto-Bantu than do most Bantu languages.

What is somewhat unusual in Bena is the fluidity of its noun class system.

Traditionally in Bantu linguistics it is assumed that nouns belong inherently to a single class; nouns can then be derived into other classes via prefix substitution. This is largely the approach I follow here, though in Morrison (in progress) I show that noun class membership in Bena appears to be more fluid than is traditionally assumed. Morrison (forthcoming) analyzes the telling of “One Frog Too Many” (a picture book by Mercer Mayer) as performed by three different Bena speakers. Within the three renditions, five different (singular) noun classes are used for the word ‘frog’<sup>1</sup> with a single speaker using as many as four different classes during the course of the story. Results of this study indicate that choice of noun class is actually a complex combination of factors, including the “inherent” class of a noun, semantics (i.e., augmentation and diminution), referent tracking, and participant disambiguation. The role of the noun class system in referent tracking has been noted (see, for example, Comrie 1989). However, studies citing the benefit of noun classes for referent tracking generally only focus on the nominal concord system (i.e., a verb is marked with a nominal concord). The Bena data shows instead that the speaker’s choice of the noun class itself can help to disambiguate participants. In the telling of “One Frog Too Many”, because there are two frogs in the story (a little frog and a big frog), speakers typically assign these frogs to different noun classes in order to distinguish them from one another. But because there is only a single dog and a single turtle in the story, each of these animals is usually assigned only to a single class. Thus preliminary research indicates that Bena speakers take advantage of the noun class

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<sup>1</sup> In elicitation sessions, ‘frog’ has always been given as *lingodofu*, a Class 5 noun.

system in ways which are not commonly described in other Bantu languages. Whether this is unique to Bena or whether it simply has not been described in other languages is unclear at this time.<sup>2</sup>

### 8.3 Tense and aspect

Bena is fairly typical in the way in which it encodes tense and aspect—tense and aspect is marked using a combination of verbal affixes, auxiliaries, and tone patterns. Nurse (2008) is a survey of tense and aspect in one hundred Bantu languages (with some information about tense and aspect in an additional hundred languages). He notes that typically pre-stem morphemes encode tense categories, while the final vowel usually encodes aspect. This is true for Bena, though, as in other Bantu languages it is an oversimplification of the system.

With respect to the actual tense and aspect categories expressed in Bena, they are fairly typical for Bantu. Bena distinguishes four past tenses. Among the world's languages a four-way distinction in past tense is highly unusual. The World Atlas of Language Structures, in a survey of 222 languages, identifies only two languages (Chacábo and Yagua, both Amazonian) that have four distinct past tenses (Dahl and Vellupillai 2008). According to Nurse (2008); some other Bantu languages have four separate past tenses, however it is much more common for Bantu languages to distinguish one, two, or three past tenses. The past tenses distinguished by Bena line up precisely

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<sup>2</sup> The latter is more likely—it would be quite surprising if Bena were the only language in which speakers took advantage of the noun class system in this fashion. However it is also possible that because Bena has so many noun classes (19), speakers are able to manipulate them in more ways than they would be able to if Bena exhibited one of the significantly reduced noun class systems.

with temporal divisions identified in other Bantu languages that have four past tenses: the first past tense refers to events that just happened, near past refers to events that happened earlier today, middle past refers to events from yesterday or a few days ago, and remote past refers to events that happened a long time ago. Bena distinguishes three separate futures—similarly to the past tenses, this is on the upper end of the range of future tense distinctions common in Bantu. Nurse claims that Bantu languages distinguish between one and three future tenses, with a distinction between three futures being the least common.

Aspectually, Bena's five aspectual categories (perfective, progressive, habitual, persistive, and anterior) are fairly typical of those identified by Nurse for Bantu. Typologically, persistive is somewhat unusual within the world's languages. Bena has two strategies it uses to encode persistive aspect: one uses the pre-stem morpheme *pi-* as in *ndipigéénda* 'I am still walking'. The second strategy uses the persistive word *pele* 'still' before the verb: *pele ndigéénda* 'I am still walking'.

Thus Bena displays a fairly rich set of tense/aspect distinctions. It has four possible past tenses, three futures, and five aspectual categories. It is fairly "typical" for Bantu, but the number of tense/aspect combinations which it can distinguish is on the higher end for a Bantu language. Further, the number of tense distinctions that Bena has is extremely unusual typologically.



#### 8.4 Derivational extensions

Bena has thirteen different derivational extensions: passive, applicative, causative, reciprocal, reflexive, stative, separative (transitive), separative (intransitive), intensive, impositive, repetitive, positional, extensive, and tentative. Derivational extensions can increase or decrease verbal valence. Valence-increasing extensions are the Several extensions maintain verbal valence, but change the meaning of the verb in some other way. The form and morphological properties of extensions are described in 5.3; the syntactic functions of the extensions are discussed in 7.1.3. The verbal extensions which are found in Bena are fairly typical of Bantu languages—twelve of Bena’s thirteen verbal extensions are reflexes from extensions reconstructed by Schadeburg (2003) for Proto-Bantu. The only extension which Bena has that is not listed by Schadeburg is *–ás*, the intensive extension. Other Bantu languages have a similar extension. Petzell (2008) describes an intensive extension (*–is* or *–es*) for Kagulu (G12), the intensive extension in Ha (DJ66) is *–ir* (Harjula 2003), and in Ngoni (N12) the intensive is *–is* (Ngonyani 2003). In each of these three languages the function of the intensive is fairly similar to its function in Bena.

Some of Bena’s verbal extensions are completely unproductive. For example, there are only three examples of the tentative extension *–at* in the entire database (*fuumbáta* ‘grasp’, *ibáta* ‘hold, catch’, and *pagáta* ‘hold on one’s lap’). These verbs seem to have completely lexicalized the extension and non-tentative counterparts for each of these do not exist. Other derivational extensions are highly productive. Unproductive extensions occur closer to the verbal root; productive extensions occur further from the root.

Even though extensions such as the tentative and extensive are unproductive in Bena, they still have access to the morphophonological process of imbrication (as do other, more productive, verbal extensions). Imbrication (described in detail in 2.4.7) is a process which can best be described as a type of coalescence, whereby multiple morphemes are interwoven together. An example of an imbricated verb is given in (1):

- (1) a. hu-dind-uh-a                      → *hudiindúha*                      ‘to open (intr)’  
          CL15-close-SEP-FV                      [hudi:ˈdúha]
- b. gu-dind-uh-ile                      → *gudííndwiihe*                      ‘it has opened (intr)’  
          CL3-close-SEP-FV                      [gudí:ˈdwihe]

The interaction of imbrication with derivational extensions in Bena is a particularly interesting avenue for future research, as it is an example of a situation in which morphemes that appear to have completely fused with the verb still impact certain morphophonological processes.

## 8.5 Animacy

Animacy (and humanness) plays a critical role in a number of morphological and syntactic processes in Bena, as well as in other Bantu languages. Animacy impacts object properties—in single object constructions objects, objects that are animate are more likely to be marked on the verb than inanimate objects (see 7.1.2.2.3). In double object constructions containing an animate object and an inanimate object the animate object is the one which displays properties of a primary object (7.1.2.2.4). Animacy has a mixed impact on noun class conflict resolution (this is discussed in 4.1.4): in subjects that

consist of a human NP and an animate NP, subject agreement is with the human noun. However, when a non-human animate NP is conjoined with an inanimate NP, subject marking is Class 8 (inanimate).

Anthropomorphized animals exhibit interesting patterns with respect to nominal concord. Anthropomorphized animals retain their normal noun class prefixes (i.e., an elephant, *lideembwe*, will always belong to Class 5 regardless of whether or not it is anthropomorphized), but they trigger nominal concord with Classes 1 and 2 (human classes). Therefore anthropomorphized animals trigger Class 1/2 subject marking, they use Class 1/2 augments and personal pronouns, and they trigger Class 1/2 concord on nominal modifiers (adjectives, demonstratives, and possessors).

Therefore, in light of the data on animacy, it seems reasonable to propose the following animacy hierarchy for Bena:

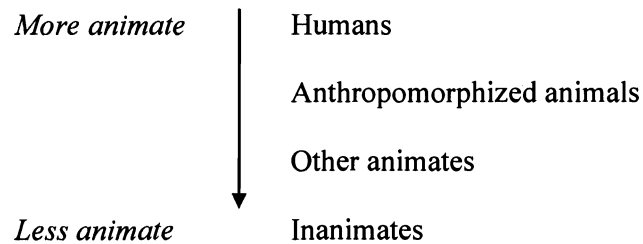


Figure 8.1. Bena animacy hierarchy

Similar animacy hierarchies have been proposed for other Bantu languages (see Hyman and Duranti 1982, for example, for a discussion of the role animacy plays in object marking). Animacy plays some sort of role in most Bantu languages. What is interesting is the various ways animacy impacts morphological and syntactic structure in different languages. In Swahili, for example, all animate nouns trigger Class 1/2 concord

(Katamba 2003), whereas in Bena only anthropomorphized animals trigger Class 1/2 concord. Similarly, the way in which animacy interacts with object marking varies from language to language. In Remi (F32, Tanzania) animate objects only trigger verbal agreement if they are definite (Hualde 1989, quoted in Woolford 1999). In contrast, animate objects in Ruwund must also be specific, benefactive/malefactive, or goals in order to trigger agreement (Woolford 1999). The way animacy interrelates with other syntactic and discorsal features in Bena is worth examining in greater detail, as it seems that animacy behaves slightly differently in each Bantu language.

### **8.6 Grammatical relations and the accessibility hierarchy**

Bena distinguishes among three types of arguments: subject, primary object, and secondary object. In addition to this, Bena has a number of different types of obliques. The properties of each of these are discussed in detail in 6.1.2. Keenan and Comrie (1977) proposed an accessibility hierarchy to predict the types of grammatical relations which can be relativized in a given language. If a grammatical relation is low on the hierarchy and has access to relativization, they predict that all relations higher on the hierarchy can also be relativized. The accessibility hierarchy, as proposed by Keenan and Comrie, is given in (2):

(2) Subject > Direct Object > Indirect Object > Oblique > Genitive > Object of Comparison

Keenan and Comrie's accessibility hierarchy can be slightly modified in order to better predict the behavior of NPs in Bena. This is given in (3) below:

- (3) Subject > Primary Object > Secondary Object > Location/Temporal Oblique > Other Oblique > Object of Associative > Object of Comparison

The accessibility hierarchy proposed in (3) is useful for predicting the behavior of NPs in a number of different types of situations in Bena. As demonstrated in 7.2.5, subjects, primary objects, secondary objects, and location and temporal obliques can be relativized; other types of obliques and NPs occurring lower on the hierarchy cannot be relativized. The NPs which have access to cleftability are the same as those which can be relativized.

The accessibility hierarchy is also useful in describing verbal agreement. Subject NPs are obligatorily marked on the verb. For primary objects, object marking is optional.<sup>3</sup> Object marking is impossible for secondary objects and other NPs occurring lower on the accessibility hierarchy. Similar generalizations can be made about position in proximity to the verb. NPs that are very high on the accessibility hierarchy (subjects and primary objects) occur closest to the verb in basic sentences. NPs lower on the hierarchy do not have access to immediate preverbal or postverbal position.

Passivization is an area in which the accessibility hierarchy is somewhat less useful. In Bena primary objects and location and temporal obliques can be passivized; secondary objects cannot (see 7.1.3.4.1). This is somewhat unusual in Bantu—usually if it is possible to passivize any type of oblique, it is also possible to passivize secondary objects. This is an area worth investigating further.

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<sup>3</sup> “Optional” here means that objects are marked in some situations and not in others. See 7.1.2.2.

The accessibility hierarchy interacts with the animacy hierarchy described in 8.5. Entities that are higher in animacy are also more likely to be higher on the accessibility hierarchy. Further, the animacy hierarchy allows one to make more fine-grained distinctions. For example, object marking of primary objects depends on several factors, one of which is animacy. Object marking of inanimate objects is possible, but the conditions under which inanimate objects can be marked on the verb are more constrained than those for animate objects, and animate objects are more likely to be marked on the verb. The relationship between the accessibility hierarchy and the animacy hierarchy (and with other types of hierarchies, such as the semantic and determinedness hierarchies proposed by Hyman and Duranti 1982) is a worthy area of future research in Bena.

### **8.7 Inversion**

There are two different types of inversion (subject-object inversion and locative inversion) which have been described for other Bantu languages but which do not seem to exist in Bena. Locative inversion in particular has received considerable treatment in the Bantu literature. (See, for example, Bresnan and Kanerva 1989, Mchombo 2004, Marten 2006, Diercks in press). Consider the following pair of sentences from Chichewa (N31b, Malawi):

- (4) a. *Njôka yagóná pa mkéka.*  
 n-joka y-a-gón-á pa m-kéka  
 9-snake 9SM-PERF-sleep-FV 16LOC 4-mat  
 'A snake is sleeping on the mat.'
- b. *Pa mkéka paagóná njôka.*  
 pa m-kéka pa-a-gón-á n-joka  
 16LOC 4-mat 16SM-PERF-sleep-FV 9-snake  
 'On the mat is sleeping a snake.'

(Mchombo 2004:93)

Example (1a) illustrates a normal, unmarked transitive sentence in Chichewa. The subject *njôka* 'snake' triggers agreement on the verb, and the locative oblique *pa mkéka* occurs post-verbally. In (b), the locative and subject have been inverted. The locative now serves as the subject of the sentence (as evidenced by Class 16 agreement on the verb) and the original subject occurs post-verbally. Crucially, locative inversion occurs without any sort of derivational extension (this would distinguish locative inversion from passivization of locative obliques, a structure that Bena does have and which is described in 5.1.3.4). The ungrammaticality of locative inversion in Bena is demonstrated in (5) (where (a) represents the normal, unmarked order, and (b) is the ungrammatical attempt at locative inversion):

- (5) a. *Ihááte yihaagwé patisi.*  
 i-hááte yi-haa-gw-e pa-tisi  
 AUG.9-book CL9-P<sub>3</sub>-fall-FV CL16-table  
 'The book fell on the table.'
- b. \**Patisi pahaagwé ihááte.*  
 pa-tisi pa-haa-gw-e i-hááte  
 CL16-table CL16-P<sub>3</sub>-fall-FV AUG.9-book  
 (Attempted: 'On the table fell a book.')

(2b) and numerous other attempts at locative inversion were deemed ungrammatical by three different Bena consultants, each on a separate occasion.

Another type of inversion (subject-object inversion) has received attention in the Bantu literature, though it is less common than locative inversion. In subject-object inversion, the subject and object switch places, resulting in OVS word order. The fronted object, however, agrees with the verb. This is not the same thing as a passive construction, as such languages also have passives, and passives are marked with a derivational extension. Consider (6), an example of subject-object inversion in Kagulu:

- (6) *Ichakudiya hachidiya mwana.*  
 i-chi-akudiya ha-chi-diy-a mu-ana  
 AUG-CL7-food PAST-CL7-eat-FV CL1-child  
 ‘The child ate the food.’ (lit. ‘The food ate the child.’)

(Petzell 2003:171)

Numerous attempts were made to elicit constructions such as that given in (6), but consultants all agreed that such constructions were ungrammatical (or necessitated the interpretation “The food ate the child.”)

At this point in time it is unclear why locative inversions and subject-inversions do not exist in the current data set. Attempts to elicit such inversions failed. At least two possible reasons could account for this. Either elicitation of these structures failed because they are ungrammatical in Bena, or because the elicitation was flawed in some way (whether it be because the questions were phrased in the wrong way or speakers did not understand what they were being asked to do). Either explanation is possible, though at this point it seems reasonable to conclude that these structures are ungrammatical because attempts to elicit inversions were made with multiple speakers and all were in



agreement that such structures were ungrammatical. The fact that no examples of these structures occurred in the corpus seems to support this explanation. The fact that Bena does not allow inversion structures is typologically significant, as inversion (particularly locative inversion) is a structure commonly found in Bantu linguistics. This is an example in which lack of a particular feature is somewhat unusual when comparing Bena with other Bantu languages.

## 8.8 Conclusion

This grammar has described in detail aspects of Bena phonology, morphology, and syntax. As this final chapter shows, Bena is a language that has much to contribute to knowledge of Bantu linguistics. In many ways, Bena is a fairly “typical” Bantu language. A few examples of this include Bena’s rich nominal and verbal morphology, its complex noun class system, and the series of extensions used to derive one verb from another. Bena also has some rather striking typological features. In particular the number of tenses Bena distinguishes (four separate past tenses and three distinct futures) is quite rare, both within Bantu languages and among the world’s languages. As this chapter has shown, there are numerous areas in which continued research on Bena could contribute to a greater understanding of language structure. These include tone (and in particular, tone change), the ways in which speakers can manipulate the noun class system in order to track referents, Bena’s complex tense and aspect system, the process of imbrication and the way it interacts with both productive and unproductive derivational extensions, and the role played by animacy in Bena.

Many grammars of Bantu languages focus on phonology and morphology (at the expense of syntax). I have attempted to provide a more balanced account and have devoted major portions of the grammar to phonology, morphology, and syntax. It is my hope that this will allow this grammar to be a useful reference for linguists. Further, it is my hope that the provision of a detailed description of the language will be useful in language maintenance efforts among the Bena.

## **Appendix A**

### **The Hare and the Pheasant, Version 3, 08Oct09f**

Appendixes A and B are transcriptions of two narratives recorded during the fall of 2008. Appendix A is a recording of the story “The Hare and the Pheasant”. Three different speakers told this story, and each speaker told it slightly differently. This version was told by Petro Mkevela, a 58-year old male speaker who was born in Mtwango and lived in Njombe at the time of recording.

In this story, a hare convinces a pheasant to play a game with him in order to figure out which one of them was bigger and stronger. The hare says that big and strong animals can survive a fire without being burned up. So they decide to play a game where each one takes a turn sitting in a pile of firewood while the fire is lit. Whichever one survives in the end is the biggest and strongest. The hare goes first, and he digs a hole under the firewood. The pheasant lights the fire, and the hare survives. When the pheasant’s turn comes, he goes inside the firewood. When the hare lights the fire, the pheasant burns up.

The hare is so excited about his victory over the pheasant that he takes one of the pheasants claws and turns it into a whistle. He plays his whistle and sings a song celebrating his own cleverness. An elephant walks by and hears him singing and takes the whistle from the hare. The hare gets mad, so he goes inside a cave and gets some other animals to cover the entrance of the cave with mud. They call the elephant, and the hare

calls out in a really loud voice (echoing in the cave) and threatens the elephant. The elephant gets scared, but eventually figures out that the hare is playing a trick on him. He tries to get into the cave to attack the hare, but the hare manages to slip out a hole in the back of the cave and run away.

- (1) *Pamwááandi, aali pwaali ungamusuungúla núng'waale.*  
 pa-mwandi a-aa-li pu-aa-li u-ngamu-sungula na=u-N-kwaale  
 CL16-long.ago CL1-P4-COP CL16-P4-COP AUG-clever-hare and=AUG.1-CL9-  
 pheasant  
 'Once upon a time there was a clever hare and a pheasant.'
- (2) *Vibeedziíge umunyaluhála hwa muyágwe nde ye naani umuvína.*  
 va-i-beedz-ag-ile u-mu-nya-lu-hala hwa mu-yagwe nde ye naani u-mu-vina  
 CL2-PRES-argue- AUG.1-CL1-having- for CL1-his. if REL who AUG.1-  
 IPFV-FV CL11-intelligence friend .1 CL1-big  
 'They were arguing (about) the one with intelligence before his friend (who was  
 smarter), and who was more important.'
- (3) *Ugamusuungúla aali músugu hulutíla ung'waale.*  
 u-ngamu-sungula a-aa-li mu-súgu hu-lutil-a u-N-kwaale  
 AUG-clever-hare CL1-P4-COP CL1-sly CL15-surpass-FV AUG.1-CL9-pheasant  
 'The clever hare was slyer than the pheasant.'
- (4) *Halafu figóno avibeedziídze umúsugu numuvína...*  
 halafu fi-gono a-va-i-beedz-ile u-mu-sugu na=u-mu-vina  
 then CL8-day REL.2-CL2-PROG-argue-FV AUG.1-CL1-sly and=AUG.1-CL1-big  
 'Then (for) days the ones who were arguing about the sly one and the important one...'
- (5) *Ungamusuungúla amukemeeliye ung'waale, atige,*  
 u-ngamu-sungula a-mu-kemeel-ile u-N-kwaale a-tig-e  
 AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-CL1.OBJ-call-FV AUG.1-CL9-pheasant CL1-say-FV  
 'The clever hare called the pheasant, saying,'
- (6) *"Veya, nééng'uli taadze tígedze ye naani umuvína.*  
 veyá neeng'uli ti-aadz-e ti-gel-i-e ye naani u-mu-vina  
 hey today 1PL-come-FV 1PL-try-CAUS-FV REL.1 who AUG.1-CL1-big  
 "Hey, today, let's come and test who is the one who is (more) important."

- (7) *Itigilága,* "Haya."  
 i-tig-il-ag-a haya  
 CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV okay  
 'He said, "Okay."'
- (8) *Viviihága* *ulufíngo.*  
 va-i-viih-ag-a u-lu-fingo  
 CL2-put-NARR-FV AUG.11-CL11-agreement  
 'They made an agreement.'
- (9) *Vatíge,* "Lino, *tísaha* *ísagala.*  
 va-tig-e lino ti-sah-a i-sagala  
 CL2-say-FV now 1PL-look.for-FV AUG.10-firewood  
 'They said, "Now, let's look for firewood.'
- (10) *Tivíihe* *palúkweeheva* *ápa.*  
 ti-viih-e pa-lu-kweeheva apa  
 1PL-put-FV CL16-CL11-ditch here  
 'Let's put it in the ditch here.'
- (11) *Pe* *tivíihile* *ísagala* *ápo,* *úyuungi* *ihwiingíla*  
 pe ti-víih-ile i-sagala apo u-yu-ngi i-hu-ingíl-a  
 REL. 16 1PL-put-FV AUG.10-firewood here AUG.1-CL1-other CL1-E-enter-FV  
  
*mugáti,* *úyuungi* *ikóódza* *umóoto.*  
 mugáti u-yu-ngi i-koodz-a u-mu-oto  
 inside AUG.1-CL1-other CL1-kindle-FV AUG.3-CL3-fire  
 'When we have put the firewood here, one will enter inside, the other will kindle a fire.'
- (12) *Líno,* *ye* *ali* *hwívala* *akeemeláge* *umúyagwe.*  
 lino ye a-li hu-ívala a-keemel-ag-e mu-yagwe  
 now REL.CL1 CL1-COP CL17-outside CL1-call-NARR-FV CL1-his.friend  
 'Now let the one who is outside call his friend.'
- (13) *Viveedzága* *vidiing'ine.*  
 va-i-veedz-ag-a va-i-diing'-an-ile  
 CL2-PROG-be-NARR-FV CL2-PROG-agree-RECIP-FV  
 'They agreed with one another.'

- (14) *Ungamusuungúla itigilága, “Ndítala unééne.”*  
 u-ngamu-sungula i-tig-il-ag-a ndi-tal-a u-neene  
 AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV 1SG-precede-FV AUG.1-1SG.PRO  
 ‘The clever hare said, “Me, I’ll go first.”’
- (15) *Ungamusuungúla ihwiingilága pe vaviihile ísagala mwifúúngu.*  
 u-ngamu-sungula i-hu-ingil-ag-a pe va-viih-ile i-sagala mu-ifúngu  
 AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-E-enter- REL.16 CL2-put-FV AUG.10- CL18-ditch  
 NARR-FV firewood  
 ‘The clever hare went in where they had put the firewood in the ditch.’
- (16) *Itigilága, “Ve, muyáángu, ubite wíinyila uhaléte umóóto.”*  
 i-tig-il-ag-a ve mu-yangu u-bit-e u-i-nyil-a u-ha-let-e u-mu-óto  
 CL1-say-APPL- 2SG.PRO CL1- 2SG- 2SG-PROG- 2SG-CONS- AUG.3-CL3-  
 NARR-FV my.friend go-FV run-FV bring-FV fire  
 ‘He said, “You, my friend, go running (and) bring fire.”’
- (17) *Umwééne hweene mbéle iyavága umuliíndi*  
 u-mweene hu-eene mbele i-yav-ag-a u-mu-lindi  
 AUG.1-3SG.PRO CL17-itself back CL1-dig-NARR-FV AUG.3-CL3-hole  
  
*ihwiingilága mumuliíndi mugáti.*  
 i-hu-ingil-ag-a mu-mu-lindi mu-gati  
 CL1-E-enter-NARR-FV CL18-CL3-hole CL18-inside  
 ‘At the back (of the ditch) he dug a hole (and) went inside the hole.’
- (18) *Ung’waale ave ipilúha akoodziídze umóóto pahyáánya pásagala.*  
 u-N-kwaale AUX i-piluh-a a-koodz-i-ile u-mu-óto pa-hyáánya pa-sagala  
 AUG.1-CL9- CL1- CL1-kindle- AUG.3- CL16-top CL16-firewood  
 pheasant return-FV CAUS-FV CL3-fire  
 ‘‘When the pheasant returned, he kindled a fire on top of the firewood.’’
- (19) *Nehe aváánge uhukeméla, “Veya, ngamusuungúla, wíípya?”*  
 nehe a-vang-e u-hu-kemél-a veyá ngamu-sungula u-i-py-a  
 then CL1-begin-FV AUG.15-CL15-call- hey clever-hare 2SG-PRES-burn-FV  
 FV  
 ‘Then he began to call, “Hey, clever hare, are you burning?”’
- (20) *“Ha! Va víípya na vagóyo?”*  
 ha va-a va-i-py-a na va-goyo  
 ha CL2-HAB CL2-PROG-burn-FV and CL2-big  
 ‘‘Ha! Are those who burn the important ones?’’

- (21) *Swe ihweendeléla uhukóódza umóoto.*  
 swe i-hu-endelel-a u-hu-kóódz-a u-mu-óto  
 then CL1-E-continue-FV AUG.15-CL15-build-FV AUG.3-CL3-fire  
 ‘Then he continued to build the fire.’
- (22) *Ungamusuungúla wíípya?*”  
 u-ngamu-sungula u-i-py-a  
 AUG.1-clever-hare 2SG-PROG-burn-FV  
 “‘Clever hare, are you burning?’”
- (23) *“Ha! Va víípya na vagóyo?”*  
 ha va-a va-i-py-a na va-goyo  
 ha CL2-HAB CL2-PROG-burn-FV and CL2-big  
 “‘Ha! Are those who burn the important ones?’”
- (24) *Gwaave gyeengile umóoto, ungamusuungúla ve ihumága.*  
 gu-aa-ve gu-yeng-ile u-mu-óto u-ngamu-sungula ve i-hum-ag-a  
 CL3-P4-AUX CL3-die. AUG.3- AUG.1-clever-hare AUX CL1-come.out-  
 down-fv CL3-fire NARR-FV  
 ‘When the fire had died down, the clever hare came out.’
- (25) *Ahwipuumunága.*  
 a-hu-i-puumun-ag-a  
 CL1-E-REFL-thrash-NARR-FV  
 ‘He was thrashing around.’
- (26) *Ve itigilága, “Na yuuve, ng’waale, wiingile, tipáange isagala dziingi.*  
 AUX i-tig-il-ag-a na yuuve N-kwaale u-ingil-e ti-páng-e i-sagala dzi-ngi  
 CL1-say-APPL and 2SG. CL9- 2SG- 1PL- AUG.10- CL10-  
 -NARR-FV PRO pheasant enter-FV arrange-FV firewood other  
 ‘He said, “And you, pheasant, go in, let’s pile up more firewood.”’
- (27) *Vipaangága isagala*  
 va-i-pang-ag-a i-sagala  
 CL2-PROG-arrange-NARR-FV AUG.10-firewood  
 ‘He said, “And you, pheasant, go in, let’s pile up more firewood.”’
- (28) *Ung’wááde ihwiingilága músagala.*  
 u-N-kwaale i-hu-ingil-ag-a mu-sagala  
 AUG.9-CL9-pheasant CL1-E-enter-NARR-FV CL18-firewood  
 ‘The pheasant went into the firewood.’

- (29) *Ungamusuungúla ikoodzága umóoto.*  
 u-ngamu-sungula i-koodz-ag-a u-mu-óto  
 AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-kindle-NARR-FV AUG.3-CL3-fire  
 ‘The clever hare kindled a fire.’
- (30) *Ivaangága uhumuwúúdzá, “Veya ngamung’wáále, wíípya?”*  
 i-vang-ag-a u-hu-mu-wuudz-a veyá ngamu-N-kwaale u-i-py-a  
 CL1-begin-NARR-FV AUG.15-E-CL1.OBJ-hey clever-CL9-pheasant 2SG-PROG-burn-FV  
 ‘He began to ask him, “Hey, clever pheasant, are you burning?”’
- (31) *Va víípya na vagóyo?”*  
 va-a va-i-py-a na va-goyo  
 CL2-HAB CL2-PROG-burn-FV and CL2-big  
 “‘Ha! Are those who burn the important ones?’”
- (32) *Lwa wúvili, “Veya, ngamung’wáále, wíípya?”*  
 lu-a wu-vili veyá ngamu-N-kwaale u-i-py-a  
 CL11-ASSOC CL14-two hey clever-CL9-pheasant 2SG-PROG-burn-FV  
 ‘The second (time), “Hey, clever pheasant, are you burning?”’
- (33) *Atíge, Va víípya na vagóyo?”*  
 a-tig-e va-a va-i-py-a na va-goyo  
 CL1-say-FV CL2-HAB CL2-PROG-burn-FV and CL2-big  
 ‘He said, “Ha! Are those who burn the important ones?”’
- (34) *Isaúti yihwííha, húúmbi íípya tayáli.*  
 i-sauti yi-hwíih-a huumbi i-i-py-a tayali  
 AUG.9-sound CL9-decrease-FV really CL1-PROG-burn-FV already  
 ‘The sound was decreasing, really he was already burning.’
- (35) *Paambéle agáne akeméle, awééne huli dzidzídzi, asiihíga, kaa.*  
 pambéle a-gan-e a-kemél-e a-won-ile hu-li dzidzídzi a-si-iih-ag-a kaa  
 later CL1-try-FV CL1-call-FV CL1-see-FV CL17-COP silence CL1-NEG-respond-NARR-FV no  
 ‘Later he tried to call (him), he saw that there was silence, he didn’t respond, no.’
- (36) *Húúmbi ung’wáále yúla ave áápye, ááfwe.*  
 huumbi u-N-kwáále yu-la ave a-py-e a-fw-e  
 really AUG.1-CL9-pheasant CL1-DIST.DEM AUX CL1-burn-FV CL1-die-FV  
 ‘Really that pheasant had already burned up, he had died.’



- (37) *Ungamusuungúla úyu ihelelága ipalága pamóoto*  
 u-ngamu-sungula uyu i-helel-ag-a i-pal-ag-a pa-mu-oto  
 AUG.1-clever- CL1.PROX. DEM CL1-go-NARR-FV CL1-dig-NARR-FV CL16-CL3-fire  
 hare

*pála, ahumuhedzága ung'wáále ve áápye.*  
 pala a-hu-mu-hedz-ag-a u-N-kwáále ve a-py-e  
 DIST.DEM.16 CL1-E-CL1.OBJ-pull.out-FV AUG.1-CL9-pheasant AUX CL1-die-FV  
 'This clever hare went and dug in that fire; he pulled out the pheasant; he had just died.'

- (38) *Idzubulága ulunyóóve lwa ng'waale.*  
 i-dzubul-ag-a u-lu-nyóó ve lu-a N-kwaale  
 CL1-pull.off-NARR-FV AUG.11-CL11-claw CL11-ASSOC CL9-pheasant  
 'He pulled off the claw of the pheasant.'

- (39) *Yiteendága ahálemo.*  
 yi-tend-ag-a a-ha-lemo  
 CL9-make-NARR-FV AUG.12-CL12-whistle  
 'He made a small whistle.'

- (40) *Ahálemo áha ivaangága uhupúúla.*  
 a-ha-lemo aha i-vang-ag-a u-hu-púúl-a  
 AUG.12-CL12-whistle PROX.DEM.12 CL1-begin-NARR-FV AUG.15-CL15-blow-FV  
 'This whistle, he began to play (it).'

- (41) *Pe ipúúla, iimbííge ulwíimbo.*  
 pe i-púúl-a i-imb-ag-ile u-lu-imbo  
 REL.16 CL1-blow-FV CL1-sing-NARR-FV AUG.11-CL11-song  
 'While he played he was singing a song.'

<Begin song>

- (42) *"Pyee! Pyee!*  
 pyee pyee  
 tweet tweet  
 "Tweet! Tweet!'

- (43) *Hapéembe háángu, múlume, hali hamulédza ing'waale.*  
 ha-pémbe ha-angu mu-lume ha-li ha-mu-lel-i-a i-N-kwaale  
 CL12-horn CL12- 1SG.POSS CL1-friend CL12- CL12-CL1.OBJ- AUG.9-CL9-pheasant  
 COP raise-CAUS-FV  
 'My little horn (whistle), Friend, it was raised (created) by the pheasant.'

- (44) *Valume, hahútova tulolééle hali huhyáánya ngíta likóóko, valume.*  
 va-lume ha-hu-tov-a tu-lol-el-e ha-li hu-hyáánya ngíta li-kóóko va-lume  
 CL2- CL12-CL15- 1PL-look- CL12- CL17-top like CL5-enemy CL2-friend  
 friend play-FV APPL-FV COP  
 ‘Friends, it’s playing, let us see (that) it was above like an enemy, Friends.’
- (45) *Pyee! Pyee! Lule ng’waale.*  
 pyee pyee lule ng’waale  
 tweet tweet lala N-kwaale  
 ‘Tweet! Tweet! Lala, pheasant.’”

<End song>

- (46) *Ulidéembwe ipulihága pe ihwíimba ungamusuungúla úyu*  
 u-li-démbwe i-pulih-ag-a pe i-hu-ímb-a u-ngamu-sungula uyu  
 AUG.1-CL5- CL1-hear- CL16.REL CL1-E-sing-FV AUG.1-clever- CL1.PROX.  
 elephant NARR-FV hare DEM  
 ‘The elephant was listening when this hare was singing.’
- (47) *Ulidéembwe ihwaadzága.*  
 u-li-démbwe i-hu-adz-ag-a  
 AUG.1-CL5-elephant CL1-E-come-NARR-FV  
 ‘The elephant came.’
- (48) “*Veya! Ahálemo áha uhaahawééne hwííya?*”  
 veyá a-ha-lemo aha u-haa-ha-won-ile hwííya  
 hey AUG.12-CL12-whistle PROX.DEM.12 2SG-P3-CL12.OBJ-see-FV where  
 “‘Hey! This little whistle, where did you get it?’”
- (49) *Atíge, “Kaa, unééne ndili muvína sana inéng’uni.*  
 a-tig-e kaa u-nééne ndi-li mu-vína sana i-néng’uni  
 CL1-say-FV ha AUG.1-1SG.PRO 1SG-COP CL1-big very AUG.9-today  
 ‘He (the hare) said, “Ha! I am very important today.’
- (50) *Ndaahemííye hútaali, unééne, Lidéembwe, siwiwésa, hata.*  
 ndi-haa-hem-il-ile hu-taali u-nééne li-démbwe si-u-i-wés-a hata  
 1SG-P3-come.from- CL17- AUG.1- CL5-elephant NEG-2SG-PRES- no  
 APPL-FV far 1SG.PRO be.able-FV  
 ‘I came from very far away, Elephant, you can’t (know where I got it), no.’”

- (51) *Itigilága,* “Tove *taandi!*”  
 i-tig-il-ag-a tov-e taandi  
 CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV play-FV first  
 ‘He (the elephant) said, “Play (it) first!”’

- (52) *Itovága ungamusuungúla haangi.*  
 i-tov-ag-a u-ngamu-sungula hangi  
 CL1-play-NARR-FV AUG.1-clever-hare again  
 ‘The clever hare played (it) again.’

<Begin song>

- (53) “Pyee! Pyee!”  
 pyee pyee  
 tweet tweet  
 “‘Tweet! Tweet!’”

- (54) *Hapéémbe háángu, múlume, hali hamulédza ing’waale.*  
 ha-pémbe ha-angu mu-lume ha-li ha-mu-lel-i-a i-N-kwaale  
 CL12-horn CL12- CL1- CL12- CL12-CL1.OBJ-raise-CAUS- AUG.9-CL9-  
 1SG.POSS friend COP FV pheasant  
 ‘My little horn (whistle), Friend, it was raised (created) by the pheasant.’

- (55) *Valume, hahútova tulolééle hali huhyáánya ngíta likóóko, valume.*  
 va-lume ha-hu-tov-a tu-lol-el-e ha-li hu-hyáánya ngíta li-kóóko va-lume  
 CL2- CL12-CL15- 1PL-look- CL12 CL17-top like CL5- CL2-friend  
 friend play-FV APPL-FV -COP enemy  
 ‘Friends, it’s playing, let us see (that) it was above like an enemy, Friends.’

- (56) *Pyee! Pyee! Lule ng’waale.*  
 pyee pyee lule ng’waale  
 tweet tweet lala N-kwaale  
 ‘Tweet! Tweet! Lala, pheasant.’”

<End song>

- (57) *Ulidéembwe idobohága, atige, “Lete na yúúne, ndipúúle.”*  
 u-li-démbwe i-doboh-ag-a a-tig-e let-e na yúúne ndi-púúl-e  
 AUG.1-CL5- CL1-desire- CL1-say- bring-FV and 1SG.PRO 1SG-blow-FV  
 elephant NARR-FV FV  
 ‘The elephant desired (it), he said, “Bring (it) and I’ll play (it).”’

- (58) *Ve inyagága ahálemo ha ungamusuungúla ve iinyilága náho.*  
 ve i-nyag-ag-a a-ha-lemo ha u-ngamu-sungula ve i-nyil-ag-a naho  
 AUX CL1-seize- AUG.12-CL12- ASSOC AUG.1-clever-hare AUX CL1-run- with  
 NARR-FV whistle .12 NARR-FV .12  
 ‘He seized the clever hare’s whistle (and) ran away with it.’
- (59) *Ungamusuungúla aagané afwááte mumbéle,*  
 u-ngamu-sungula a-aa-gan-e a-fwaat-e mu-mbéle  
 AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-P4-try-FV CL1-follow-FV CL18-behind  
 ‘The clever hare tried to follow behind.’
- (60) “*Ve, mugóyo, úmeele ahálemo háángu,” ivéémba.*  
 ve mu-góyo ú-N-peel-e a-ha-lemo ha-angu i-vemb-a  
 hey CL1-big 2SG-1SG.OBJ- AUG.12-CL12-whistle CL12-1SG.POSS CL1-cry-FV  
 give-FV  
 “‘Hey, important one, give me my whistle,’ he cried.”
- (61) *Ahaa, ulideembwe iheegága.*  
 ahaa u-li-dembwe i-heeg-ag-a  
 uhuh AUG.1-CL5-elephant CL1-depart-NARR-FV  
 ‘U-huh, the elephant left.’
- (62) *Itigilága, “Nduhúkoma.”*  
 i-tig-il-ag-a ndi-hu-kom-a  
 CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV 1SG-2SG.OBJ-kill-FV  
 ‘He said, “I’ll kill you.”’
- (63) *Ungamusuungúla úyu ahaamulehelága ahálemo hála, ihelelága.*  
 u-ngamu-sungula uyu a-haa-mu-leh-el-ag-a a-hal-lemo ha-la i-hel-el-ag-a  
 AUG.1-clever-hare PROX. CL1-P3-CL1.OBJ- AUG.12- DIST. CL1-go-APPL-  
 DEM.1 leave-APPL-NARR-FV CL12-whistle DEM.12 NARR-FV  
 ‘This clever hare left him that whistle; he went (away).’
- (64) *Adzikemelága avayágwe.*  
 a-dzi-kemel-ag-a a-va-yaagwe  
 CL1-P2-call-NARR-FV AUG.2-CL2-his.friend  
 ‘He called his friends.’
- (65) *Atíge, “Nyeve, nde, muyéényo, ulideembwe anyágile ahálemo háángu.*  
 a-tig-e nyeve nde mu-yeenyo u-li-dembwe a-nyag-ile a-ha-lemo ha-angu  
 CL1- hey 1SG. CL1- AUG.1-CL5- CL1-steal- AUG.12-CL12- CL12-  
 say-FV PRO your.friend elephant FV whistle 1SG.POSS  
 ‘He said, “Hey, me, your friend, the elephant stole my whistle.”’

- (66) *Lino, uvééve, ungamusuungúla, keméle aváyaago,*  
 lino u-vééve u-ngamu-sungula kemél-e a-va-yaago  
 now AUG.1-2SG.PRO AUG.1-clever-hare call-FV AUG.2-CL2-your.friend  
  
*naváángi, navagító, navanyáni.*  
 na=va-ngi na=va-gító na=va-nyáni  
 and=CL2-other and=CL2-group and=CL2-monkey  
 ‘Now, you, clever hare, call your friends and others and (other) groups and the monkeys.’
- (67) *Mwáádze múmate nililóongo.*  
 mu-adz-e mu-mat-e na=i-li-lóngo  
 2PL-come-FV 2PL-plaster-FV and=AUG.5-CL5-dirt  
 ‘Come plaster me with mud.’
- (68) *Nde, muyéényo, ndihwikala paligáanga.*  
 nde mu-yeenyo ndi-hu-íkal-a pa-li-gánga  
 1SG.PRO CL1-your.friend 1SG-CL15-sit-FV CL16-CL5-stone  
 ‘Me, your friend, I’ll sit on a stone.’”
- (69) *Ungamusuungúla, aasahwé ilígaanga ilinyá maanga.*  
 u-ngamu-sungula a-aa-sahul-ile i-li-ganga i-li-nya manga  
 AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-P4-search.for-FV AUG.5-CL5-stone AUG.5-CL5-have cave  
 ‘The clever hare searched for a stone with a cave.’
- (70) *Ihwiingilága mugáti.*  
 i-hu-ingil-ag-a mugáti  
 CL1-E-enter-NARR-FV inside  
 ‘He went inside.’
- (71) *Aváyaagwe vimatága nililóongo; vamátile,*  
 a-va-yaagwe va-i-mat-ag-a na=i-li-lóngo va-mat-ile  
 AUG.2-CL3-his.friend CL2-PROG-plaster-FV and=AUG.5-CL5-dirt CL2-plaster-FV  
  
*vamátile hidzigile hidúúnda hikómi.*  
 va-mat-ile hi-dzig-ile hi-dúnda hi-kómi  
 CL2-plaster-FV CL7-remain-FV CL7-hill CL7-big  
 ‘His friends plastered (it) with dirt; they plastered (and) plastered (until) a big hill remained.’

- (72) *Itigilága,* “*Lino muhámukeméle* *úndeembwe.*  
 i-tig-il-ag-a lino mu-ha-mu-kemél-e u-N-dembwe  
 CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV now 2PL-NARR-CL1.OBJ-call-FV AUG.1-CL9-elephant  
 ‘He (the hare) said, “Now call the elephant.’”
- (73) *Muhatigile* “*Ahukeméla* *udaadé* *va* *ungamusuungúla.*  
 mu-ha-tig-il-e a-hu-kemél-a u-daad-é va u-ngamu-sungula  
 2PL-NARR-say-APPL- CL1-2SG.OBJ-call-FV AUG.1-father- ASSOC.2 AUG.1-clever-hare  
 FV 3SG.POSS  
 ‘Say to him, ‘The clever hare’s father is calling you.’”
- (74) *Basi yumwiínga* *ihégaga* *íinyila,*  
 basi yu-mwínga i-heg-ag-a a-i-nyil-a  
 so CL1-one CL1-depart-NARR-FV CL1-PROG-run-FV  
  
*adzimukemelága* *ulideembwe,* *ihwaadzága.*  
 a-dzi-mu-kemel-ag-a u-li-dembwe i-hu-adza-ag-a  
 CL1-P2-CL1.OBJ-call-NARR-FV AUG.1-CL5-elephant CL1-E-come-NARR-FV  
 ‘So one (animal) left running, he called the elephant, (the elephant) came.’
- (75) *Iwonága* *isauti* *yihuma* *mulilóongo* *múla.*  
 i-won-ag-a i-sauti yi-hum-a mu-li-lóngo mu-la  
 CL1-see-NARR-FV AUG.9-sound CL9-come.out.FV CL18-CL5-dirt CL18-DIST.DEM  
 ‘He heard sound coming out of that dirt.’
- (76) “*Ve, mudíimi, yuuve ye waanyagile ihilemo hya mudíimi váángu?*”  
 ve mu-díimi yuuve ye u-aa-nyag-ile i-hi-lemo hi-a mu-díimi va-angu  
 2SG. CL1-boy 2SG.PRO REL 2SG-P4-steal- AUG.7-CL7- CL7- CL1-boy CL1-  
 PRO .1 FV whistle ASSOC 1SG.POSS  
 ‘(The hare said,) “You, boy, are you the one who stole the whistle of my boy?”’
- (77) *Itigilága,* “*Ha! Ndaataaniliíge* *hela.*”  
 i-tig-il-ag-a ha ndi-aa-taan-il-ag-ile hela  
 CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV ha 1SG-P4-joke-APPL-NARR-FV simply  
 ‘He (the elephant) said, “Ha! I was only joking.”’
- (78) *Itigilága,* “*Lete ápa.*” *Itawulága.*  
 i-tig-il-ag-a let-e apa i-tawul-ag-a  
 CL1-say-APPL-NARR-FV bring-FV PROX.DEM.16 CL1-give-NARR-FV  
 ‘He (the hare) said, “Bring it here.” He (the elephant) gave it to him.’



- (87) *Hangamusuungúla, hatíge, “Nduhúgaangwe, wa witigíla*  
 ha-ngamu-sungula ha-tig-e ndi-hu-gaangul-ile u-a u-i-tig-il-a  
 CL12-clever-hare CL12-say-FV 1SG-2SG.OBJ-beat-FV 2SG-HAB 2SG-PROG-say-APPL-FV

*uli músugu, unééne ndili muvína huliho uvééve.”*  
 u-li mu-sugu u-nééne ndi-li mu-vína huliho u-vééve  
 2SG-COP CL1-sly AUG-1SG.PRO 1SG-COP CL1-big than AUG.1-2SG.PRO  
 ‘The clever little hare said, “I beat you; you always say that you’re sly, (but) I’m bigger (more important) than you.”’

- (88) *Úndeembwe ihwáádza íinyila.*  
 u-N-dembwe i-hu-adz-a i-nyil-a  
 AUG.1-CL9-elephant CL1-E-come-FV CL1-run-FV  
 ‘The elephant came running.’

- (89) *Ungamusuungúla, ihumilága hulúbali*  
 u-ngamu-sungula i-hum-il-ag-a hu-lu-bali  
 AUG.1-clever-hare CL1-come. from-APPL-NARR-FV CL17-CL11-side

*úluungi lwa máánga, ihelága íinyila.*  
 u-lu-ngi lu-a manga i-hel-ag-a i-nyil-a  
 AUG.11-CL11-other CL11-ASSOC cave CL1-go-NARR-FV CL1-run-FV  
 ‘The clever hare came out of the other side of the cave, he left running.’

- (90) *Agáne asáhe, alemiilwe, úndeembwe.*  
 a-gan-e a-sah-e a-lemul-ile u-N-dembwe  
 CL1-try-FV CL1-find-FV CL1-be.unable-FV AUG.1-CL9-elephant  
 ‘The elephant tried to find (the hare), he couldn’t.’

- (91) *Amusuumíle, ungamusuungúla, nuwudóodo we ali náwo.*  
 a-mu-suumil-e u-ngamu-sungula na=u-wu-dóodo we a-li nawo  
 CL1-CL1.OBJ- AUG.1-clever- and=AUG.14- REL.14 CL1-COP with.14  
 defeat-FV hare CL14-little  
 ‘The clever hare beat him (the elephant) with the little that he had.’



## Appendix B

### A Farming Story, 08Oct16a

The second text example is taken from a recording made October 16, 2008. The speaker is Catherin Mhehwa, a 52 year old female speaker who was born in the village of Kidugala but was living in Njombe at the time of recording. She speaks the Ngaveta dialect. Catherin asked to tell me about traditional farming methods. She talks about the procedures for clearing a field and preparing it to be farmed, about farming itself, about the difficulties of keeping pheasants from eating the crops, and about processing and storing crops.

- (1) *Ndisaha ndiváloongele ulúsimo ulwa húbita humugúúnda húlíma.*  
 ndi-sah-a ndi-va-long-el-e u-lu-simo u-lu-a hu-bit-a hu-mu-gúnda hu-lim-a  
 1SG-want- 1SG-2PL.OBJ-tell- AUG.11- AUG.11- CL15- CL7-CL3-field CL15-  
 FV APPL-FV CL11-story ASSOC.11 go-FV farm-FV  
 ‘I want to tell you a story of going to the field to farm.’
- (2) *Unééne ndili Mubéna.*  
 u-nééne ndi-li mu-Bena  
 AUG.1-1SG.PRO 1SG-COP CL1-Bena  
 ‘Me, I’m Bena.’
- (3) *Toka uwáána wáángu pe ndááve ndilélwa navaváha váángu.*  
 toka u-wu-ána wu-ángu pe ndi-aa-v-e ndi-lel-w-a na=a-va-vaha va-angu  
 since AUG.14- CL14- REL. 1SG-P4-be 1SG-raise- and=AUG.2- CL2-  
 CL14-child 1SG.POSS CL16 FV PASS-FV CL2-parent 1SG.POSS  
 ‘Since my childhood when I was raised by my parents.’

- (4) *Vááli vafundisiídze uhúbita húlima mugúúnda.*  
 va-aa-li va-fundis-is-ile u-hu-bit-a hu-lim-a mu-gúnda  
 CL2-P4-COP CL2-teach-CAUS-FV AUG.15-CL15-go-FV CL15-farm-FV CL3-field  
 ‘They were teaching (me) to go farm the field.’
- (5) *Líno, pe ndibita húlima, ndanditegúla inyééngo, ipáánga na ligimílo.*  
 lino pe ndi-bit-a hu-lim-a ndi-a-ndi-tegul-a i-nyéngo i-pánga na li-gimílo  
 now REL 1SG-go- CL15- 1SG-HAB-1SG- AUG.9- AUG.9- and CL5-hoe  
 .16 FV farm-FV take-FV sickle machete  
 ‘Now when I go farm, I always take a sickle, a machete, and a hoe.’
- (6) *Líno, pe ndihéle húlima, ndisiváánga uhúlima,*  
 lino pe ndi-hel-e hu-lim-a ndi-si-vang-a u-hu-lim-a  
 now REL.16 1SG-go-FV CL15-hoe-FV 1SG-NEG-begin-FV AUG.15-CL15-hoe-FV
- nditála taandi uhuhéénga amabíhi.*  
 ndi-tal-a taandi u-hu-héng-a a-ma-bíhi  
 1SG-begin-FV first AUG.15-CL15-clear-FV AUG.6-CL6-tree  
 ‘Now when I go to hoe, I don’t begin (by) hoeing, I begin (by) clearing trees.’
- (7) *Adza ndihééngile amabíhi, ndiheenga nágo amasóli*  
 adza ndi-héng-ile a-ma-bihi ndi-heng-a nago a-ma-sóli  
 AUX 1SG-clear-FV AUG.6-CL6-tree 1SG-clear--FV with.6 AUG.6-CL6-grass
- agahéle giímela múdaasi.*  
 a-ga-hel-e ga-i-mel-a mu-daasi  
 REL.6-CL6-go-FV CL6-PROG-grow-FV CL18-bush  
 ‘When I have cleared the trees, I clear grass which was growing in the bush.’
- (8) *Apééne ápo ndívedza ndivaangídza umugúúnda múpya.*  
 a-pa-ene apo ndi-vedz-a ndi-vang-idz-a u-mu-gúnda mu-pya  
 AUG.16- MED.DEM 1SG-be-FV 1SG-begin- AUG.3-CL3-field CL3-new  
 CL16-self .16 CAUS-FV  
 ‘Right here (in this very place) I start a new field.’
- (9) *Síyo ndílima umugúúnda umulóvela, ndílima umugúúnda umúpya.*  
 siyo ndi-lim-a u-mu-gúnda u-mu-lóvela ndi-lim-a u-mu-gúnda u-mu-pya  
 NEG 1SG-hoe- AUG.3-CL3- AUG.3-CL3- 1SG-hoe- AUG.3-CL3- AUG.3-CL3-new  
 FV field old FV field  
 ‘I don’t hoe an old field, I hoe a new field.’

- (10) *Pe ndiheengile amasóli góónda, ndivaavila numóoto.*  
 pe ndi-heng-ile a-ma-sóli ga-onda ndi-vaav-il-a na=u-mu-oto  
 REL. 16 1SG-clear-FV AUG.6-CL6-grass cl6-all 1SG-burn- and=AUG.3-CL3-fire  
 APPL-FV  
 'When I have cleared all the grass, I burn it with fire.'
- (11) *Adza ndivááv-il-ile numóoto, gwihwááha.*  
 adza ndi-vaav-il-ile na=u-mu-oto gu-i-hu-aah-a  
 FUT 1SG-burn-APPL-FV and=AUG.3-CL3-fire CL3-PRES-E-burn-FV  
 'When I have burned it with fire, it burns.'
- (12) *Gwihwááha, gípya mabíhi gála góónda tipu.*  
 gu-i-hu-aah-a ga-i-py-a ma-bíhi gala ga-ónda tipu  
 CL3-PRES-E-burn-FV CL6-PRES-burn-FV CL6-tree DIST.DEM.6 CL6-all completely  
 'It burns, all those trees burn up completely.'
- (13) *Haláfu ndiváánga uhúlima.*  
 halafu ndi-vang-a u-hu-lim-a  
 then 1SG-begin-FV AUG.15-CL15-hoe-FV  
 'Then I begin to hoe.'
- (14) *Sindiváánga higóno híhyo, ndiváánga higóno hya wúvili.*  
 si-ndi-vang-a hi-gono hihyo ndi-vang-a hi-gono hi-a wu-vili  
 NEG-1SG-begin-FV CL7-day MED.DEM.7 1SG-begin-FV CL7-day ASSOC.7 CL14-two  
 'I don't begin that very day, I begin the second day.'
- (15) *Pe adza ndíbita uhúlima, nditégula iligimilo.*  
 pe adza ndi-bit-a u-hu-lim-a ndi-tegul-a i-li-gimilo  
 REL.16 FUT 1sg-go-FV AUG.15-CL15-hoe-FV 1SG-take-FV AUG.5-CL5-hoe  
 'When I go to hoe, I take a hoe.'
- (16) *Halafu nisóóha ya hung'ényela ifisihi fya*  
 halafu na=i-sóóha i-a hu-ng'eny-el-a i-fi-sihi fi-a  
 then and=AUG.9-axe CL9-ASSOC CL15-cut-APPL-FV AUG.8-CL8-trunk CL8-ASSOC  
  
*mugúúnda, ifya mabíhi makómi.*  
 mu-gúnda i-fi-a ma-bíhi ma-kómi  
 CL3-field AUG.8-CL8-ASSOC CL6-tree CL6-big  
 'Then with an axe for cutting trunks of the field, for big trees.'

- (17) *Kwa híyo isóóha yíla, nding'énya amásina gááhwe paasi.*  
 kwa hiyo i-sóóha yíla ndi-ng'ény-a a-ma-sina ga-ahwe paasi  
 therefore AUG.9-axe DIST.DEM.9 1SG-cut-FV AUG.6- CL6-3SG.POSS down  
 CL6-trunk  
 'Therefore (with) that axe, I cut its trunks at the bottom.'
- (18) *Haláfu ndibita ndilima.*  
 halafu ndi-bit-a ndi-lim-a  
 then 1SG-go-FV 1SG-hoe-FV  
 'Then I continue to hoe.'
- (19) *Adza ndilímile nditoveeng'ása.*  
 adza ndi-lim-ile ndi-toveeng'as-a  
 when 1SG-hoe-FV 1SG-smooth-FV  
 'When I have hoed, I smooth out (the field).'
- (20) *Pe nditoveeng'iise, ndipilúha hukááye, ndisúúpa.*  
 pe ndi-toveeng'as-ile ndi-pilúh-a hu-kááye ndi-súúp-a  
 REL.16 1SG-smooth-FV 1SG-return-FV CL17-house 1SG-rest-FV  
 'When I have smoothed out (the field) I return home (and) I rest.'
- (21) *Ndigona.*  
 ndi-gon-a  
 1SG-sleep-FV  
 'I sleep.'
- (22) *Pamiláwo haangi ndihiláva.*  
 pa-miláwo haangi ndi-hiláv-a  
 CL16-morning again 1SG-wake.early-FV  
 'In the morning again I wake up early.'
- (23) *Nde ulwééga uluhasíge haangi ndibita humalídza ulwééga lwáángu.*  
 nde u-lu-éga u-lu-has-ag-ile haangi ndi-bit-a hu-malidz-a u-lu-éga lu-ángu  
 if AUG.11- AUG.11-CL11- again 1SG-go- CL15- AUG.11- CL11-  
 CL11.area remain-IPFV-FV FV finish-FV CL11-area 1SG.POSS  
 If an area remained (unhoed), again I go to finish (hoeing) my area.'
- (24) *Pe ndihéle humalídza ulwéga lúla...*  
 pe ndi-hel-e hu-malidz-a u-lu-éga lúla  
 REL.16 1SG-go-FV CL15-finish-FV AUG.11-CL11-area DIST.DEM.11  
 'When I've gone to finish that area...'

- (25) *Pe ndimálile, ndíwuya husúúpa.*  
 pe ndi-mal-ile ndi-wuy-a hu-súúp-a  
 REL.16 1SG-finish-FV 1SG-return.home-FV CL15-rest-FV  
 ‘When I’ve finished, I return home to rest.’
- (26) *Ndibita líno husáhula imbeyu iya huyáála humugúúnda.*  
 ndi-bit-a lino hu-sahul-a i-mbeyu i-ya hu-yáál-a hu-mu-gúnda  
 1SG-go-FV now CL15- AUG.10-seed AUG.10- CL15-plant CL17-CL3-field  
 search-FV ASSOC.10  
 ‘Now I go to look for seeds to plant in the field.’
- (27) *Amahaláági ndibita huyáála idóógi.*  
 a-ma-haláági ndi-bit-a hu-yáál-a i-dóógi  
 AUG.6-CL6-bean 1SG-go-FV CL15-plant-FV AUG.10-bean  
 ‘Beans, I go to plant beans.’
- (28) *Haláfu amádzebele.*  
 halafu a-ma-dzebele  
 then AUG.6-CL6-corn  
 ‘Then corn.’
- (29) *Haláfu nadzi máánge.*  
 halafu nadzi mánge  
 then and.10 chickpea  
 ‘Then chickpeas.’
- (30) *Naga mándeendele.*  
 naga ma-ndeendele  
 and.6 CL6-sunflower  
 ‘And sunflowers.’
- (31) *Kwa híyo ulúbali úluungi, ndiyáála amahaláági.*  
 kwa hiyo u-lu-bali u-lu-ngi ndi-yáál-a a-ma-haláági  
 therefore AUG.11-CL11-side AUG.11-CL11-other 1SG-plant-FV AUG.6-CL6-bean  
 ‘Therefore on another side, I plant beans.’
- (32) *Iliwuta iliingi, ndiyáála amádzebele.*  
 i-li-wuta i-li-ngi ndi-yáál-a a-ma-dzebele  
 AUG.5-CL5-hole AUG.5-CL5-other 1SG-plant-FV AUG.6-CL6-corn  
 ‘In another hole, I plant corn.’

- (33) *Ilíwuta iliingi, ndiyáála imáánge.*  
 i-li-wuta i-li-ngi ndi-yáál-a i-mááge  
 AUG.5-CL5-hole AUG.5-CL5-other 1SG-plant-FV AUG.10-chickpea  
 ‘In another hole, I plant chickpeas.’
- (34) *Ilíwuta iliingi, ndiyáála amabíhi ga huzuia ulúdzuva.*  
 i-li-wuta i-li-ngi ndi-yáál-a a-ma-bíhi ga-a hu-zuia u-lu-dzuva  
 AUG.5- AUG.5- 1SG-plant- AUG.6-CL6- CL6- CL15- AUG.11-CL11-sun  
 CL5-hole CL5-other FV tree ASSOC prevent  
 ‘In another hole I plant trees for blocking the sun (shade trees).’
- (35) *Ndiyáála patáálipátaali.*  
 ndi-yáál-a pa-taali-pa-taali  
 1SG-plant-FV CL16-far-CL16-far  
 ‘I plant in different places.’
- (36) *Haláfu adza ndigímile amáwuta gála, ndiyáálile.*  
 halafu adza ndi-gim-ile a-ma-wuta gala ndi-yaal-ile  
 then when 1SG-dig-FV AUG.6-CL6-hole DIST.DEM.6 1SG-plant-fv  
 ‘Then when I’ve dug those holes, I’ve planted.’
- (37) *Basi ndibita ndisiíla, nditoveeng’ása.*  
 basi ndi-bit-a ndi-sííl-a ndi-toveeng’ás-a  
 then 1SG-go-FV 1SG-bury-FV 1SG-smooth-FV  
 ‘Then I go bury (the seeds), I smooth over (the holes).’
- (38) *Pe nditoveeng’íise ndíwuya hukááye.*  
 pe ndi-toveeng’ás-ile ndi-wuy-a hu-kááye  
 REL.16 1SG-smooth-FV 1SG-return.home-FV CL17-house  
 ‘When I have smoothed out (the fields) I return home.’
- (39) *Umugúúnda gwívedza gusílile, ndidziindíla fiméle.*  
 u-mu-gúnda gu-i-vedz-a gu-síl-ile ndi-dzind-il-a fi-mél-e  
 AUG.3-CL3-field CL3-PRES-be-FV CL3-finish-FV 1SG-wait-APPL-FV CL8-grow-FV  
 ‘The field has been finished, I wait for them (the crops) to grow.’
- (40) *Adza fiméle, ndibita huliingúla.*  
 adza fi-mel-e ndi-bit-a hu-lingúl-a  
 when CL8-grow-FV 1SG-go-FV CL15-examine-FV  
 ‘When they have grown, I go to examine (them).’

- (41) *Hoodzili ng'wáále, dzadzisohóla mugúúnda múla.*  
 hoodzili N-kwáále dzi-a-dzi-sohól-a mu-gúnda múla  
 EXIST.10 CL10-pheasant CL10-HAB-CL10-scratch-FV CL3-field DIST.DEM.3  
 'There are pheasants, they always scratch at that field.'
- (42) *Líno pe dzihéle dzisohóla,*  
 lino pe dzi-hel-e dzi-sohól-a  
 now REL.16 CL10-go-FV CL10-scratch-FV  
 'Now if they have gone and scratched up (the seeds),'
- (43) *Bási uné ndibita ndiwíidza haangi.*  
 basi une ndi-bit-a ndi-wíidz-a haangi  
 then 1SG.PRO 1SG-go-FV 1SG-redo-FV again  
 'Then I go and redo (the planting) again.'
- (44) *Pe ndiwiidziídze, ndidziindíla haangi fiméle.*  
 pe ndi-wíidz-ile ndi-dziind-il-a haangi fi-mel-e  
 REL.16 1SG-redo-FV 1SG-wait-APPL-FV again CL8-grow-FV  
 'When I have redone (the planting) I wait again for them (the crops) to grow.'
- (45) *Híla síhu ndibitága húlola nde dzisóhwe ing'wáále au háta.*  
 hila sihu ndi-bit-ag-a hu-lol-a nde dzi-sohol-ile i-N-kwáále au hata  
 every day 1SG-go- CL15- if CL10-scratch-FV AUG.10-CL10- or NEG  
 NARR-FV see-FV pheasant  
 'Every day I go to see if the pheasants have scratched up (the seeds) or not.'
- (46) *Nde ndíwona huna ng'wáále ndzólofu,*  
 nde ndi-won-a hu-na N-kwáále N-ólofu  
 if 1SG-see-FV CL15-have CL10-pheasant CL10-many  
 'If I see (that) there are many pheasants.'
- (47) *Basi ndibitága ndiswalídza múdaasi.*  
 basi ndi-bit-ag-a ndi-swalídz-a mu-daasi  
 then 1SG-go-NARR-FV 1SG-scare-FV CL18-bush  
 'Then I go and scare them in the bush.'
- (48) *Nditigíla, "Swa, ng'wáále, swa."*  
 ndi-tig-il-a swa N-kwáále swa  
 1SG-say-APPL-FV shoo CL10-pheasant shoo  
 I say, "Shoo, pheasants, shoo.'

- (49) “Swa, ng’wáále, swa.”  
 swa N-kwáále swa  
 shoo CL10-pheasant shoo  
 “Shoo, pheasants, shoo.”
- (50) *Sása, ing’wáále dzíla dzipulíha, dzóónda dzipuluundúha dzínyila.*  
 sasa i-N-kwáále dzíla dzi-pulíh-a dzi-ónda dzi-puluundúh-a dzi-nyil-a  
 now AUG.10-CL10- DIST. CL10-hear- CL10-all CL10-fly-FV CL10-run-FV  
 pheasant DEM.10 FV  
 ‘Now those pheasants hear (and) all fly away quickly.’
- (51) *Adza dzinyílile basi, umugúúnda gúdziga saláma.*  
 adza dzi-nyil-ile basi u-mu-gúnda gu-dzig-a salama  
 when CL10-run-FV then AUG.3-CL3-field CL3-remain-FV peaceful  
 ‘When they have run away, then, the field remains peaceful.’
- (52) *Ee, ndipilúha hukááye, ndisúpa pádebe.*  
 ee ndi-pilúh-a hu-kááye ndi-súp-a pá-debe  
 yes 1SG-return-FV CL17-house 1SG-rest-FV CL16-little  
 ‘Yes, I return home (and) I rest a little.’
- (53) *Haangi na pamihe ndibita uhungilíla úgu*  
 haangi na pamihe ndi-bit-a u-hu-ngil-il-a úgu  
 again and evening 1SG-go-FV AUG.15-CL15-look-APPL-FV PROX. DEM.3  
  
*ndáwuli, dzili háangi ng’wáále?*  
 ndáwuli dzi-li hangi N-kwáále  
 how CL10-be again CL10-pheasant  
 ‘And again in the evening I go and look at that one (field), how (is it), are there pheasants again?’
- (54) *Nde dzili haangi, ndibitága ndiswalídza.*  
 nde dzi-li hangi ndi-bit-ag-a ndi-swalídza-a  
 if CL10-be again 1SG-go-NARR-FV 1SG-scare-FV  
 ‘If they are (there) again, I go (and) scare (them).’
- (55) “Swa, ng’wáále, swa.”  
 swa N-kwáále swa  
 shoo CL10-pheasant shoo  
 “Shoo, pheasants, shoo.”



- (56) “*Swa, ng’wáále, swa.*”  
 swa N-kwáále swa  
 shoo CL10-pheasant shoo  
 ‘Shoo, pheasants, shoo.’
- (57) *Ing’wáále dzíla dzadzínyila basi.*  
 i-N-kwáále dzíla dzi-a-dzi-nyil-a basi  
 AUG.10-CL1-pheasant DIST.DEM.10 CL10-HAB-CL10-run-FV then  
 ‘Those pheasants always run (away) then.’
- (58) *Dzisihwáádza húhola haangi, kaa.*  
 dzi-si-hu-ádz-a hu-hol-a hangí kaa  
 CL10-NEG-E-come-FV CL15-scratch-FV again no  
 ‘They don’t come to scratch again, no.’
- (59) *Ifilyo fila fidzigága fíkula.*  
 i-filyo fila fi-dzig-ag-a fi-kul-a  
 AUG.8-crop DIST.DEM.8 CL8-remain-NARR-FV CL8-grow-FV  
 ‘Those crops will remain growing.’
- (60) *Adza fíkúile, ing’wáále líno dzilémwa húpala.*  
 adza fi-kul-ile i-N-kwáále líno dzi-lemw-a hu-pal-a  
 when CL8-grow-FV AUG.10-CL10-pheasant now CL10-be.unable-FV CL15-scratch-FV  
 ‘When they have grown, the pheasants now can’t scratch (the seeds).’
- (61) *Kwa sababu dzípala, paasi pala dza dzísaha*  
 kwa sababu dzi-pal-a paasi pala dzi-a dzi-sah-a  
 because CL10-scratch-FV ground DIST. DEM.16 CL10-HAB CL10-search-FV
- ímbeyu ye ndiyáálile.*  
 i-N-beyu ye ndi-yáál-ile  
 AUG.9-CL9-seed REL. 9 1SG-plant-FV  
 ‘Because they scratch there on the ground, they’re always looking for a seed which I’ve planted.’
- (62) *Líno wone dziméle dzifíha mbáha ápa.*  
 líno wone dzi-mel-e dzi-fih-a mbaha PROX.DEM.16  
 now if CL10-grow-FV CL10-arrive-FV until here  
 ‘Now if they have grown, they reach up to here.’<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Consultant was gesturing to her waist here.

- (63) *Ápo* *sidziwesága* *kwa sababu* *imbeyu* *ye*  
 apo si-dzi-wes-ag-a kwa sababu i-N-beyu ye  
 MED.DEM.16 NEG-CL10-be.able-NARR-FV because AUG.9-CL9-seed REL.9  
*ndihaayáálike yíla yimélile.*  
 ndi-haa-yaal-ile yila yi-mel-ile  
 1SG-P3-plant-FV DIST. DEM.9 CL9-grow-FV  
 ‘Right here they can’t (scratch) because the seed which I planted, that one has grown.’
- (64) *Lino, imbeyu yíla yiwólile.*  
 lino i-N-beyu yila yi-wol-ile  
 now AUG.9-CL9-seed DIST. DEM.9 CL9-blossom-FV  
 ‘Now that seed has blossomed.’
- (65) *Kwa híyo, yigáya káási ya húleha, yive póoso*  
 kwa hiyo yi-gaya kaasi ya hu-leh-a yi-v-e póoso  
 therefore CL9-without work ASSOC.9 CL15-leave-FV CL9-be-FV feed  
*ya ng’wáále yiliye, hámuna.*  
 ya N-kwáále yi-liy-e hámuna  
 ASSOC.9 CL9-pheasant CL9-eat-FV no  
 ‘Therefore there’s no more work (need) to leave (the seeds) to be feed for a pheasant, for it to eat, no.’
- (66) *Kwa híyo, adza ndidzíndiye pádebe, mumilúúngu gídatu dééna,*  
 kwa hiyo adza ndi-dzind-il-ile pa-debe mu-mi-lúngu ga-ídatu dééna  
 therefore when 1SG-wait-APPL-FV CL16-little CL16-CL4-week CL4-three thus  
*ndiváánga uhúbita hukaatíla.*  
 ndi-vang-a u-hu-bit-a hu-kaatíl-a  
 1SG-begin-FV AUG.15-CL15-go-FV CL15-weed-FV  
 ‘Therefore when I have waited a little, in three weeks I begin to go weed.’
- (67) *Ndíbita ndikaatíla amasóli gála amadóódo*  
 ndi-bit-a ndi-katíl-a a-ma-sóli gála a-ma-dóodo  
 1SG-go-FV 1SG-weed-FV AUG.6-CL6-grass DIST.DEM.6 AUG.6-CL6-small  
*agahéle gimelaméla mumugúúnda múla.*  
 a-ga-hél-e ga-i-mela-mél-a mu-mu-gúnda múla  
 REL.6-CL6-went-FV CL6-PROG-REDUP-grow-FV CL16-CL3-field DIST.DEM.3  
 ‘I go and weed that small grass which has gone and grown all over in that field.’

- (68) *Ndihéédza.*  
 ndi-héédz-a  
 1SG-uproot-FV  
 'I uproot (the weeds).'
- (69) *Pahúva ndisaha ifilyo fila fitanáge uhupúúlwa namasóli gaangi.*  
 pahúva ndi-sah-a i-fi-lyo fila fi-tan-ag-e u-hu-púúl-w-a na=ma-sóli ga-ngi  
 because 1SG- AUG.8- DIST. CL8-NEG- AUG.15-CL15- and=CL6- CL6-  
 want-FV CL8-crop DEM.8 NARR-FV crowd -pass-FV grass other  
 'Because I want those crops to not be overtaken by other grass (weeds).'
- (70) *Au ulúnofunofu ulwa hulisa... ihyahúliya hilisa...*  
 au u-lu-nofunofu u-lu-a hu-liy-i-a i-hi-ahúliya hi-li-i-a  
 or AUG.11-CL11- AUG.11- CL15-eat- AUG.7-CL7-food CL7-eat-CAUS-FV  
 fertilizer CL11-ASSOC CAUS-FV  
 'Or fertilizer for feeding...the food (fertilizer) feeds...'
- (71) *amádzebele nímaange.*  
 a-ma-dzebele na=i-mange  
 AUG.6-CL6-corn and=AUG.10-chickpea  
 'corn and chickpeas.'
- (72) *Yivedzáge, hwa ajili ya mádzebele, basi, siyo amasóli.*  
 yi-vedz-ag-e hwa ajili ya ma-dzebele basi siyo a-ma-sóli  
 CL9-be-NARR-FV because CL6-corn then not AUG.6-CL6-grass  
 'so that it is, because of the corn, then, (so that there are) no weeds.'
- (73) *Kwa hiyo amasóli gála adza ndihedziídze, fiváanga*  
 kwa hiyo a-ma-soli gala adza ndi-hedz-ile fi-vang-a  
 therefore AUG.6-CL6-grass DIST. DEM.6 when 1SG-remove-FV CL8-begin-FV  
  
*uhuhebúha fihweelúha.*  
 u-hu-hebúh-a fi-hu-eelúh-a  
 AUG.15-CL15-shoot.up-FV CL8-CL15-climb-FV  
 'Therefore those weeds, when I have removed (them), (the crops) begin to shoot up, they climb.'
- (74) *Fihweelúha, fihebúha fivédza fikómi.*  
 fi-hu-eelúh-a fi-hebúh-a fi-vedz-a fi-komi  
 CL8-E-climb-FV CL8-shoot.up-FV CL8-be-FV CL8-big  
 'They climb, they shoot up (and) become big.'

- (75) *Kwa hiyo, adza fihe fikómi, baada ya húfiha ndáwuli ee ápa,*  
 kwa hiyo adza fi-ih-e fi-komi baada ya hu-fih-a ndáwuli ee ápa  
 therefore when CL8-arrive- CL8-big after CL15- how EMPH DIST.  
 FV arrive-FV DEM.16  
 ‘Therefore when they have become big, after arriving about right here,’
- (76) *Ndihwáádza hukaatíla tena ingaasi ya wúvili.*  
 ndi-hu-adz-a hu-kaatíl-a tena i-N-gaasi ya wu-vili  
 1SG-E-come-FV CL15-weed-FV again AUG.9-CL9-weeding ASSOC.9 CL14-two  
 ‘I come to weed again, the second weeding.’
- (77) *Íngaasi ya wúvili. amahaláge gihweendéla*  
 i-N-gaasi ya wu-vili a-mahalage ga-i-hu-endél-a  
 AUG.9-CL9-weeding ASSOC.9 CL14-two AUG.6-bean CL6-PROG-continue-FV  
  
*wúnofu, giviha wulúva.*  
 wu-nofu ga-i-vih-a wu-lúva  
 CL14-good CL6-PROG-put-FV CL14-flower  
 ‘(At) the second weeding, the beans are continuing well, they are putting (out) flowers.’
- (78) *Amádzebele gihweendeléla.*  
 a-ma-dzebele ga-i-hu-eendelél-a  
 AUG.6-CL6-corn CL6-PRES-E-continue-FV  
 ‘The corn is continuing (to grow).’
- (79) *Imáánge nádzo dzihweendeléla, kwa hiyo,*  
 i-maange nádzo dzi-hu-eendelél-a kwa hiyo  
 AUG.10-bean and.10 CL10-E-continue-FV therefore  
 ‘And the beans are continuing (to grow), therefore,’
- (80) *Ndifíha hipíindi adza fiváanga uhukaangála, pála*  
 ndi-fih-a hi-píindi adza fi-váng-a u-hu-kangál-a pála  
 1SG-arrive-FV CL7-period when CL8-begin-FV AUG.15-CL15-ripen-FV DIST. DEM.16  
  
*íngaasi yívedza yisílile.*  
 í-N-gaasi yi-vedz-a yi-sil-ile  
 AUG.9-CL9-weeding CL9-be-FV CL-finish-FV  
 ‘I arrive at the period (of time) when they begin to ripen, then the weeding is finished.’

- (81) *Kwa hiyo ndidziindila fikaangále.*  
 kwa hiyo ndi-dziind-il-a fi-kangal-e  
 therefore 1SG-wait-APPL-FV CL8-ripen-FV  
 'Therefore I wait for them to ripen.'
- (82) *Adza fikáange, ndibita hugóóondza.*  
 adza fi-kaang-e ndi-bit-a hu-góóondz-a  
 when CL8-ripen-FV 1SG-go-FV CL15-harvest-FV  
 'When they have ripened, I go to harvest (them).'
- (83) *Nditegúla iliswiwi lyáangu, pamwiinga, ning'áta*  
 ndi-tegul-a i-li-swiwi li-angu pamwinga na=i-ng'ata  
 1SG-take-FV AUG.5-CL5-basket CL5-1SG.POSS together and=AUG.9-head.cushion  
  
*ya hwitwiihila.*  
 ya hu-itwiih-il-a  
 ASSOC.9 CL15-carry.head-APPL-FV  
 'I take my basket together with a head cushion for carrying (things) on my head.'
- (84) *Pe adza ndíwuya, ndifiha pála.*  
 pe adza ndi-wuy-a ndi-fih-a pala  
 when when 1SG-return-FV 1SG-arrive-FV DIST.DEM.16  
 'When I have returned I arrive there,'
- (85) *Ndigóóndza, ndigóóndza, ndigóóndza, nde mahaláge ndikúúla.*  
 ndi-góondz-a ndi-góondz-a ndi-góondz-a nde mahaláge ndi-kúúl-a  
 1SG-harvest-FV 1SG-harvest-FV 1SG-harvest-FV if beans 1SG-uproot-FV  
 'I harvest, I harvest, I harvest, if it's beans I pull them up.'
- (86) *Ndiluundása póono, ndítova, ndítova, haláfu ndihweelelúla.*  
 ndi-lundás-a póono ndi-tov-a ndi-tov-a halafu ndi-hu-elelúl-a  
 1SG-collect-FV place 1SG-hit-FV 1SG-hit-FV then 1SG-E-sift-FV  
 'I collect (them) somewhere, I hit (them and) hit (them), then I sift (them).'
- (87) *Adza ndééleelwe,*  
 adza ndi-elelul-ile  
 when 1SG-sift-FV  
 'When I have sifted (them),'
- (88) *Ndiviha mulihívi lyáangu au muliswíswi.*  
 ndi-vih-a mu-li-hívi li-angu au mu-li-swíswi  
 1SG-put-FV CL18-CL5-basket CL5-1SG.POSS or CL18-CL5-basket  
 'I put them in my basket or in a (different type of) basket.'

- (89) *Ndiváánga uhwitwííha, ndíwuya nago hukááye.*  
 ndi-vang-a u-hu-itwíh-a ndi-wuy-a nago hu-kááye  
 1SG-begin- AUG.15-CL15- 1SG-return.home-FV with.6 CL17-house  
 FV carry.head-FV  
 ‘I begin to carry (them) on (my) head, I return home with them.’
- (90) *Ndidziindila haangi amádzebele adza gikaangála,*  
 ndi-dzind-il-a hangi a-ma-dzebele adza ga-i-kaangál-a  
 1SG-wait-APPL-FV again AUG.6-CL6-corn when CL6-PRES-ripen-FV  
 ‘I wait again for the corn, when it ripens,’
- (91) *Pahúva amahaláge giloongóla uhukaangála.*  
 pahuva a-mahaláge ga-i-loongól-a u-hu-kangál-a  
 because AUG.6-beans CL6-PRES-precede-FV AUG.15-CL15-ripen-FV  
 ‘Because beans are the first to ripen.’
- (92) *badala ya mádzebele.*  
 badala ya ma-dzebele  
 instead ASSOC.9 AUG.6-corn  
 ‘instead of corn.’
- (93) *Kwa híyo pe adza ndigóóndzile amahaláge ndiwúyile,*  
 kwa híyo pe adza ndi-gondz-ile a-mahaláge ndi-wuy-ile  
 therefore REL.16 when 1SG-harvest-FV AUG.6-beans 1SG-return.home-FV  
  
*ndidzihikála ndidziindila amádzebele gakaangále.*  
 ndi-dzi-hikál-a NDI-DZIND-IL-A a-ma-dzebele ga-kangal-e  
 1SG-F1-sit-FV 1SG-wait-APPL-FV AUG.6-CL6-corn CL6-ripen-FV  
 ‘Therefore when I have harvested, (when) I’ve returned home, I will sit (and) wait for the corn to ripen.’
- (94) *Adza gakaáange nágo tena nditegúla ilihívi lyáángu,*  
 adza ga-kang-e nago tena ndi-tegul-a i-li-hivi li-angu  
 when CL6-ripen-FV with.6 again 1SG-take-FV AUG.5-CL5-basket CL5-1SG.POSS  
 ‘When it has ripened, again I take my basket,’
- (95) *Ndíbita humugúúnda.*  
 ndi-bit-a hu-mu-gúnda  
 1SG-go-FV CL17-CL3-field  
 ‘I go to the field.’

- (96) *Adza ndifihile umugúúnda, ndiváánga uhukúúndza amádzebele.*  
 adza ndi-fih-ile u-mu-gúnda ndi-váng-a u-hu-kúndz-a a-ma-dzebele  
 when 1SG-arrive- AUG.3-CL3- 1SG-begin-FV AUG.15-CL15- AUG.6-CL6-corn  
 FV field harvest-FV  
 ‘When I have arrived at the field, I begin to harvest the corn.’
- (97) *Amádzebele gála, ndikúúndza dééni nde hye galiwo.*  
 a-ma-dzebele gála ndi-kúndz-a dééni nde hi-e galiwo  
 AUG.6-CL6-corn DIST.DEM.6 1SG-harvest-FV thus if CL7-REL as.is  
 ‘That corn, I harvest it just as it is.’
- (98) *Ndikeelága ndíbita ndisobotóla, ndisobotóla, ndisobotóla.*  
 ndi-keel-ag-a ndi-bit-a ndi-sobotól-a ndi-sobotól-a ndi-sobotól-a  
 1SG-simply-NARR-FV 1SG-go-FV 1SG-husk-FV 1SG-husk-FV 1SG-husk-FV  
 ‘I just go and husk (the corn), I husk (and) husk.’
- (99) *Adza ndisóbotwe ifivegálo fila,*  
 adza ndi-sobotol-ile i-fi-vegálo fila  
 when 1SG-husk-FV AUG.8-CL8-corn.ear DIST.DEM.8  
 ‘When I’ve husked those ears of corn,’
- (100) *Ndiveedzúla kidógo, amavéédzi gaangi ndisigádza.*  
 ndi-veedzúl-a kidogo a-ma-véédzi ga-ngi ndi-sigál-i-a  
 1SG-pull.off-FV little AUG.6-CL6-husk CL6-other 1SG-remain-CAUS-FV  
 ‘I pull off a little, other (parts of) the husks I leave behind.’
- (101) *Pe ndisigíídze, gegééne ge ndíbita nágo hukááye.*  
 pe ndi-sigál-i-ile gegééne ge ndi-bit-a nágo hu-kááye  
 REL.16 1SG-remain-CAUS-FV itself.6 REL.6 1SG-go-FV with.6 CL17-house  
 ‘When I have left (some of the husks) behind, those very ones (ears of corn), I go with them home.’
- (102) *Hukááye húla, ndandidzéénga ihisáándzi.*  
 hu-kááye húla ndi-a-ndi-dzeng-a i-hi-sándzi  
 CL17-house DIST.DEM.17 1SG-HAB-1SG-build-FV AUG.7-CL7-grain.bin  
 ‘There at the house I build a grain bin.’
- (103) *Hisáándzi hya lulóóngo.*  
 hi-sándzi hya lu-lóngo  
 CL7-grain.bin ASSOC.7 CL11-dirt  
 ‘A grain bin (made) of dirt.’

- (104) *Haláfu mugáti ndihilíva lulóóngo sáfi.*  
 halafu mugáti ndi-hilív-a lu-lóngo safi  
 then inside 1SG-put-FV CL11-dirt clean  
 ‘Then inside I put clean dirt.’
- (105) *Pívedza ndáwuli ápa de.*  
 pa-i-vedz-a ndáwuli ápa de  
 CL16-PRES-be-FV how PROX.DEM.16 thus  
 ‘It (the level of dirt) will be just about here.’<sup>2</sup>
- (106) *Kwa híyo, ndísopa mádzebele gála.*  
 kwa híyo ndi-sop-a ma-dzebele gála  
 therefore 1SG-put-FV CL6-corn DIST.DEM.6  
 ‘Therefore I put that corn (in the bin).’
- (107) *Haláfu ndísopa na lifíndza, yááni, gúla gwa mógoda gwa fuhúdzi.*  
 halafu ndi-sop-a na li-fíndza yaani gúla gwa mu-goda gwa fuhúdzi  
 then 1SG-put- and CL5-ash that.is DIST. ASSOC.3 CL3- ASSOC gnat  
 FV DEM.3 medicine .3  
 ‘Then I put in ashes, that is, that gnat poison.’<sup>3</sup>
- (108) *Fitanáge uhúliya amádzebele.*  
 fi-tan-ag-e u-hu-liy-a a-ma-dzebele  
 CL8-NEG-NARR-FV AUG.15-CL15-eat-FV AUG.6-CL6-corn  
 ‘So that they don’t eat the corn.’
- (109) *Kwa híyo adza ndisópele, ilifíndza ílyo, naga mádzebele,*  
 kwa híyo adza ndi-sop-el-e i-li-findza ílyo naga ma-dzebele  
 therefore when 1SG-put-APPL-FV AUG.5-CL5-ash MED.DEM.5 and.6 CL6-corn
- ndimemíídze kabísa mbáha pahyáánya.*  
 ndi-mem-i-ile kabisa mbaha pa-hyáánya  
 1SG-fill-CAUS-FV completely until CL16-top  
 ‘Therefore when I have put those ashes and the corn (in the bin), I’ve filled it up to the top.’
- (110) *Haláfu ndipáánga tena utubíhi pahyáánya pála.*  
 halafu ndi-pang-a tena u-tu-bihi pa-hyáánya pála  
 then 1SG-arrange-FV again AUG.13-CL13-tree CL16-top DIST.DEM16  
 ‘Then I arrange again twigs there on top.’

<sup>2</sup> Here the speaker is gesturing with her hand to show the height of the level of dirt.

<sup>3</sup> Ashes are used to prevent gnats from eating the ears of corn.



- (111) *Adza ndipáánge utubihi túla, ndímata tena nililóóngo.*  
 adza ndi-pang-e u-tu-bihi túla ndi-mat-a tena na=i-li-lóngo  
 when 1SG-arrange-FV AUG.13-DIST.DEM.13 1SG-plaster-FV again and=AUG.5-CL5-dirt  
 ‘When I’ve arranged those twigs, I plaster (them) again with mud.’
- (112) *Adza ndimátile ndihíliwa wúnofu.*  
 adza ndi-mat-e ndi-híliv-a wu-nofu  
 when 1SG-plaster-FV 1SG-smooth-FV CL14-good  
 ‘When I’ve plastered (it), I smooth it out well.’
- (113) *Báho huna mulyáángo, peene gáti ápa.*  
 baho hu-na mu-lyángo pa-ene gáti ápa  
 here CL17-have CL3-door CL16-self outside here  
 ‘Here (in the grain bin) there’s a door, right outside here.’<sup>4</sup>
- (114) *Yááni hisáándzi hye íhi ápa.*  
 yááni hi-sáándzi hye íhi ápa  
 that.is CL7-grain.bin REL.7 PROX.DEM.6 here  
 ‘That is, the grain bin is this here.’
- (115) *Ápa lidilíisa.*  
 ápa li-dilíisa  
 here CL5-window  
 ‘Here is a window.’
- (116) *Lidilíisa íli...*  
 li-dilíisa íli  
 CL5-window PROX.DEM.5  
 ‘This window...’
- (117) *lya hudiindíla amádzebele, nuhudiindúla pe ndísaha uhuváándza.*  
 lya hu-dind-il-a a-ma-dzebele na=u-hu-dind-ul-a pe ndi-sah-a u-hu-vándz-a  
 ASSOC CL15-close-AUG.6-CL5-and=AUG.15-REL 1SG-want-AUG.15-CL15-  
 .5 APPL-FV corn CL15-close-SEP-FV .16 FV remove-FV  
 ‘(it is) for shutting in the corn and for opening it when I want to take (corn) out.’
- (118) *Pahúva, ndísaha huváándza, ndidiindúla.*  
 pahúva ndi-sah-a hu-vándz-a ndi-dind-ul-a  
 because 1SG-want-FV CL15-remove-FV 1SG-close-SEP-FV  
 ‘Because (when) I want to take out (some) I open (it).’

<sup>4</sup> The speaker is gesturing here, drawing the outline of a grain bin on the table with her finger.

- (119) *Pe ndívedza ndiváándzile, ndidíínda, ndímata tena.*  
 pe ndi-vedz-a ndi-vandz-ile ndi-dind-a ndi-mat-a tena  
 REL.16 1SG-be-FV 1SG-remove-FV 1SG-close-FV 1SG-plaster-FV again  
 ‘When I’ve removed (the corn), I close (the bin) and plaster (it) again.’
- (120) *Adza ndimátye basi...*  
 adza ndi-mat-il-ile basi  
 when 1SG-plaster-APPL-FV then  
 ‘When I’ve plastered (it) then...’
- (121) *Mugáti úmu mwikéla huduguumbána pamwínga nilifiíndza líla.*  
 mu-gati úmu mu-i-kél-a hu-duguumbán-a pamwínga na=i-li-fíndza líla  
 CL18- PROX. CL18-PRES- CL15-plug-FV together and=AUG.5- DIST.  
 inside DEM18 show-FV CL5-ash DEM.5  
 ‘Here inside it looks to be plugged up by those ashes.’
- (122) *Umúgoda gwa fuhúdzi.*  
 u-mu-goda gwa fuhúdzi  
 AUG.3-CL3-medicine ASSOC.3 gnat  
 ‘The gnat poison.’
- (123) *Amádzebele gihikála saláma.*  
 a-ma-dzebele ga-i-hikál-a saláma  
 AUG.6-CL6-corn CL6-PRES-live-FV peaceful  
 ‘The corn stays peaceful.’
- (124) *Gihikála pawúnofu.*  
 ga-i-hikál-a pa-wu-nofu  
 CL6-PRES-live-FV CL16-CL14-good  
 ‘It stays peaceful.’
- (125) *Kwa híyo, pe ndívedza ndimálile ikáási íyo,*  
 kwa hiyo pe ndi-vedz-a ndi-mal-ile i-kaasi íyo  
 therefore REL.16 1SG-be-FV 1SG-finish-FV AUG.9-work MED.DEM.9  
 ‘Therefore when I’ve finished that work,’
- (126) *amádzebele gála, ndanditwáanga pahítuli.*  
 a-ma-dzebele gála ndi-a-ndi-twáng-a pa-hi-tuli  
 AUG.6-CL6-corn DIST.DEM.6 1SG-HAB-1SG-husk-FV CL16-CL7-milling.machine  
 ‘That corn, I always husk (it) in a milling machine.’

- (127) *Ndiwulúla.*  
 ndi-wulul-a  
 1SG-husk-FV  
 'I husk (it).'
- (128) *Haláfu adza ndiwúúlwe, ndíbita ndísopa muhitúli.*  
 halafu adza ndi-wulul-ile ndi-bit-a ndi-sop-a mu-hi-túli  
 then AUX 1SG-husk-FV 1SG-go-FV 1SG-put-FV CL18-CL7-milling.machine  
 'Then when I've husked (it), I go put (it) in a milling machine.'
- (129) *Haláfu ndiváánga uhutwáánga.*  
 halafu ndi-vang-a u-hu-twang-a  
 then 1SG-begin-FV AUG.15-CL15-husk-FV  
 'Then I begin to husk (it).'
- (130) *Nditwáánga, wone nditwáánge...*  
 ndi-twang-a wone ndi-twang-e  
 1SG-husk-FV when 1SG-husk-FV  
 'I husk (it), when I've husked (it)...
- (131) *ínyanda yíla, yívedza tofauti naga mádzebele, palúbali.*  
 i-nyanda yíla yi-vedz-a tofauti naga ma-dzebele pa-lu-bali  
 AUG.9-chaff DIST.DEM.9 CL9-be-FV different and.6 CL6-corn CL16-CL11-side  
 'That chaff will be different, with the corn on the side.'
- (132) *Amádzebele úpaande, na inyaanda, lúbali.*  
 a-ma-dzebele upande na i-nyanda lú-bali  
 AUG.6-CL6-corn side and AUG.9-chaff CL11-side  
 'Corn on (one) side and chaff (on the other) side.'
- (133) *Kwa híyo, inyaanda yíla, ndiváánga uhupéta.*  
 kwa hiyo i-nyanda yíla ndi-vang-a u-hu-pet-a  
 therefore AUG.9-chaff DIST.DEM.9 1SG-begin-FV AUG.15-CL15-sift-FV  
 'Therefore, that chaff, I begin to sift (it).'
- (134) *Gisigála amádzebele.*  
 ga-i-sigál-a a-ma-dzebele  
 CL6-PRES-remain-FV AUG.6-CL6-corn  
 'The corn remains.'

- (135) *Amádzebele ndikaláfya, ndisiindiha humasíini huhaalúla.*  
 a-ma-dzebele ndi-kalafy-a ndi-sindih-a hu-masini hu-haalúl-a  
 AUG.6-CL6-corn 1SG-clean-FV 1SG-send-FV CL17-machine CL15-grind-FV  
 ‘The corn, I clean and send to the machine to grind.’
- (136) *Pála adza ndiháálwe, sasa wívedza wugáli wa húliya.*  
 pala adza ndi-haalúl-ile sasa u-i-vedz-a wu-gali wa hu-liy-a  
 DIST. when 1SG-GRIND- now CL14-PRES- CL14- ASSOC.14 CL15-eat-FV  
 DEM.16 FV be-FV porridge  
 ‘There when I’ve ground (it) now it is porridge for eating.’
- (137) *Amahaláge nágo nditóva, nágo ndíviha muhisáándzi dééni*  
 a-mahaláge nágo ndi-tov-a nágo ndi-vih-a mu-hi-sándzi dééni  
 AUG.6-bean with.6 1SG-hit-FV with.6 1SG-put-FV CL18-CL7-grain.bin same  
 ‘The beans, I beat them, I put them in the grain bin the same (as the corn).’
- (138) *Au muhíviya hikómi.*  
 au mu-hi-viya hi-komi  
 or CL18-CL7-pot CL7-big  
 ‘Or in a big pot.’
- (139) *Nágo ndikelága hutegúla nuhuteléha.*  
 nágo ndi-kel-ag-a hu-tegúl-a na=u-hu-teléh-a  
 with.6 1SG-simply-NARR-FV CL15-take-FV and=AUG.15-CL15-cook-FV  
 ‘With them (the beans) I simply take and cook (them).’
- (140) *Kwa híyo, indimile yáángu, ya ye afundisiídze*  
 kwa hiyo i-N-limile yi-angu ya ye a-fundis-ile  
 therefore AUG.9-CL9-farming CL9-1SG. POSS ASSOC. 9 REL. 9 CL1-teach-FV
- baba pahúlima hye ndandilima éyo.*  
 baba pa-hu-lim-a hye ndi-a-ndi-lim-a eyo  
 father CL16-CL15-farm-FV REL.7 1SG-HAB-1SG-farm-FV thus  
 ‘Therefore my farming, is that which my father taught (me), to farm as I always do.’
- (141) *Pe tili hwídugala.*  
 pe ti-li hu-idugala  
 REL.16 1PL-COP CL17-Kidugala  
 ‘When we were at Kidugala.’

- (142) *Lino isihu idzi, pahúva, tili mwééne mujini, sitináfi fisáándzi.*  
 lino i-sihu idzi pahúva ti-li mu-éne mujini si-ti-na-fi fi-sándzi  
 now AUG.10 PROX. because 1PL- CL18-self city.LOC NEG-1PL- CL8-grain.bin  
 -day DEM.10 COP have-CL8  
 ‘Now these days because we are in town, we don’t have grain bins.’
- (143) *Tivíiha mumafúho.*  
 ti-viih-a mu-mafúho  
 1PL-put-FV CL18-bags  
 ‘We put (it) in bags.’
- (144) *Mafúho mahézeni.*  
 mafúho ma-heseni  
 bags CL6-gunny.sack  
 ‘Gunny sacks.’
- (145) *Mwe mwééne mwe tísopa ifilyo fye tígoondzile mumugúúnda.*  
 mwe mu-ene mwe ti-sop-a i-fi-lyo fye ti-gondz-ile mu-mu-gunda  
 REL.18 CL18- REL.18 1PL-put- AUG.8-CL8- REL.8 1PL-harvest- CL18-CL3-field  
 self FV crop FV  
 ‘Right inside is where we put the crops which we’ve harvested in the field.’
- (146) *Mádzebele, mahalági imáánge,*  
 ma-dzebele mahalági i-mange  
 CL6-corn beans AUG.10-chickpeas  
 ‘corn, beans, chickpeas,’
- (147) *Nádzo tísopa mumahézeni.*  
 nadzo ti-sop-a mu-ma-heseni  
 and.10 1PL-put-FV CL18-CL6-gunny.sack  
 ‘And those we put in gunny sacks.’
- (148) *Pe ndimálile ápo, tivíiha munyúúmba.*  
 pe ndi-mal-ile ápo ti-viih-a mu-nyúúmba  
 REL.16 1SG-finish-FV MED.DEM.16 1PL-put-FV CL18-house  
 ‘When I’ve finished there I put (them) in the house.’

- (149) *Pahúva isíhu ídzi, avahíidzi wólofu,*  
 pahúva i-sihu ídzi a-va-híidzi va-olofu  
 because AUG.10-day PROX. DEM.10 AUG.2-CL2-thief CL2-many  
  
*tivíiha munyúúmba mwe tígona.*  
 ti-viih-a mu-nyúúmba mwe ti-gon-a  
 1PL-put-FV CL18-house REL.18 1PL-sleep  
 ‘Because these days there are many thieves, (so) we put (them) in the house where we sleep.’
- (150) *Hiyúúmba ihíingi, hya huvíiha ifilyo,*  
 hi-yumba i-hi-ngi hya hu-viih-a i-fi-lyo  
 CL7-room AUG.7-CL7-other ASSOC.7 CL15-put-FV AUG.8-CL8-crop  
 ‘One room, for putting crops (in).’
- (151) *Ihíingi ihiyúúmba hye ndígona,*  
 i-hi-ngi i-hi-yumba hye ndi-gon-a  
 AUG.7-CL7-other AUG.7-CL7-room REL.7 1SG-sleep-FV  
 ‘Another room is where I sleep.’
- (152) *Ihíingi ihiyúúmba, isebúle ya hwikála, ya pahutinalídza.*  
 i-hi-ngi i-hi-yumba i-sebule ya hu-ikál-a ya pa-hu-tinalídz-a  
 AUG.7- AUG.7-CL7- AUG.9- ASSOC.9 CL15-live-FV ASSOC CL16-CL15-talk-  
 CL7-other room living.room .9 FV  
 ‘Another room is the living room for living (in), for talking.’
- (153) *Ndiyo hye tihikála éwo, te vabéna.*  
 ndiyo hye ti-hikál-a éwo te va-bena  
 yes REL.7 1PL-live-FV thus 1PL CL2-Bena  
 ‘Yes, this is how we live, we the Bena.’

## Appendix C

### Survey Results

This appendix provides tabulated responses from the Bena sociolinguistic survey. 74 Bena speakers living in rural areas filled out a language use questionnaire. Speakers were asked to provide information about which language they used in a particular situation. Possible responses included (1) Bena only; (2) more Bena than Swahili; (3) equal Bena and Swahili; (4) more Swahili than Bena; and (5) Swahili only.<sup>1</sup>

	<b>B ONLY</b>	<b>MORE B</b>	<b>EQUAL B/S</b>	<b>MORE S</b>	<b>S ONLY</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Lg. I speak with my parents</i>	41	13	11	3	0	68
<i>Lg. my parents speak with me</i>	47	11	9	0	1	68
<i>Lg. I speak with my children</i>	13	9	27	9	7	65
<i>Lg. my children speak with me</i>	14	5	21	13	11	64
<i>Lg. I want my children to speak</i>	18	6	20	8	12	64

Table C.1 Parent-child relationship.

<sup>1</sup> There were some situations, particularly in the education domain, where English was included as one of the languages used. However, there were no responses in the entire survey that were “English only” and because this survey is looking at the relationship between Bena and Swahili, English responses are not included here. The ways in which English is impacting language use in rural Bena-speaking areas is a worthwhile area of future study.

	<b>B ONLY</b>	<b>MORE B</b>	<b>EQUAL B/S</b>	<b>MORE S</b>	<b>S ONLY</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Lg. I speak with my grandparents</i>	55	5	7	0	0	67
<i>Lg. my grandparents speak with me</i>	58	4	5	0	0	67
<i>Lg. I speak with my grandchildren</i>	20	6	18	11	5	60
<i>Lg. my grandchildren speak with me</i>	13	3	17	12	14	59

Table C.2 Grandparent-grandchild relationship.

	<b>B ONLY</b>	<b>MORE B</b>	<b>EQUAL B/S</b>	<b>MORE S</b>	<b>S ONLY</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Lg. I speak with my peers</i>	25	2	22	8	7	64
<i>Lg. my peers speak with me</i>	24	3	19	8	10	64
<i>Lg. I speak with my spouse</i>	19	24	13	11	1	68
<i>Lg. my spouse speaks with me</i>	23	16	19	7	3	68

Table C.3 Peer-peer relationship.

	<b>B ONLY</b>	<b>MORE B</b>	<b>EQUAL B/S</b>	<b>MORE S</b>	<b>S ONLY</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Lg. I speak with my older siblings</i>	17	6	24	12	8	67
<i>Lg. my older siblings speak with me</i>	18	4	25	9	9	65
<i>Lg. I speak with my younger siblings</i>	12	4	27	12	9	64
<i>Lg. my younger siblings speak with me</i>	13	5	25	10	11	64
<i>Lg. my children speak with each other</i>	17	3	21	12	11	64

Table C.4 Sibling-sibling relationship.



	<b>B ONLY</b>	<b>MORE B</b>	<b>EQUAL B/S</b>	<b>MORE S</b>	<b>S ONLY</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Lg. I spoke with my first teacher</i>	19	1	10	10	19	59
<i>Lg. my first teacher spoke with me</i>	7	0	12	10	30	59
<i>Lg. I spoke with my other teachers</i>	6	0	7	5	41	59
<i>Lg. my other teachers spoke with me</i>	7	0	7	6	39	59

Table C.5 Language use in school.

	<b>B ONLY</b>	<b>MORE B</b>	<b>EQUAL B/S</b>	<b>MORE S</b>	<b>S ONLY</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Lg. I speak at work</i>	14	0	12	9	29	64
<i>Lg. I spoke at church as a child</i>	38	6	11	1	8	64
<i>Lg. I speak at church</i>	11	5	19	8	22	65
<i>Lg. I speak on the bus</i>	8	1	8	4	43	64
<i>Lg. I speak at the market</i>	6	0	9	8	40	63
<i>Lg. I hear on the radio</i>	4	0	4	3	52	63

Table C.6 Language use in different domains.

There were several other questions to which possible responses were (1) yes; (2) no; (3) mixed; and (4) I don't know.

	<b>YES</b>	<b>NO</b>	<b>MIXED</b>	<b>DON'T KNOW</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<i>Will your children speak Bena with their children?</i>	9	45	15	0	69
<i>Will the Bena people ever stop speaking Bena and speak only Swahili?</i>	30	29	8	5	72
<i>Is speaking Bena important?</i>	70	3	n/a	0	73

Table C.7 Other questions

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<sup>1</sup> Of uncertain authorship. Given to me without any identifying information by the Kukula Group. May correspond to Küsters 193?.

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